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VISHNUKUNDIN COINS
IN
THE ANDHRA PRADESH GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

BY
DR. M. RAMA RAO, M.A., Ph.D.,
Professor of History,
Sri Venkateswara University College, Tirupati.

GENERAL EDITOR
MD. ABDUL WAHEED KHAN,
Director of Archaeology,
Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

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FOREWORD

The Pre-Cālukyan history of the Andhra country since the disappearance of the Imperial Satavahanas is a chapter of fragmentary events of several royal dynasties. What was the actual extent of the Satavahana kingdom in their last phase and who were their contemporary rulers either as subordinates or as kings of equal status are yet problems which await solution. The Andhra Bhṛtyas or Cūṭūs in the west and the Sriparvatiyas or Ikshvakus in the east seem to be the immediate successors of the Imperial Andhras or Satavahanas. The Pallavas succeeded the Cuṭūs and the Ikshavakus in the sovereignty of the Southern Kuntala and the Southern Andhra respectively, whereas the Bṛhatphalayanas, the Anandas and the Salankayanas rose to power in the northern coastal Andhra. Thus till the end of fourth century A.D. and a little later the Andhra country was under the rule of more than one contemporary king. The Vishnukundins were again a major dynasty, since the fall of the Satavahanas which enjoyed imperial status over the entire Andhra country including Kalinga during the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era.

The sources of history of the Vishnukundins are so far mainly the six copper plate charters of the dynasty including the last one namely the Tundi copper plate grant of Vikramendra Varma edited by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam and published by this Department in recent times. The only stone inscription which is found at Velpur in Sattenapally taluk of Guntur District does not offer much help as it is very much erased. The next important source is the numismatic evidence which is hitherto not properly tackled. Dr. R. Subrahmanyam has made a small beginning with his own little collection of sixteen coins of this dynasty, in course of editing the above Tundi copper plate Grant. The present Monograph on the history, monuments and coins of Vishnukundins by no less an authority than Dr. M. Rama Rao will be most welcome by scholars as he has very diligently spotlighted the dark corners concerning the history of this dynasty.

The Chapter of Vishnukundins in the Andhra history still contains many a controversial topic regarding their origin, chronology, nature of seal and the like. The word 'Vishnukundin' is as suggested by Kielhorn and Dr. B. V. Krishna Rao is a family name derived right from the name of their capital Vinukonda in Guntur District. The other appellation of these kings i. e. the word 'Sriparvata Swamy Padanudhyatanam' is taken by Dr. K. Gopalachari to signify their devotedness to the God Vishnu but not to Mallikarjuna of Srisailam. 'Sri Parvata' as he says, might have signified in those days the whole range of Nallamalai hills of which the hills surrounding Nagarjunakonda Valley and the Srisailam peak are offshoots or spur. But the Sriparvata Swamy of the Vishnukundins need not be a Vaishnavaite deity nor Srisailam be originally a seat of god Vishnu. He has taken the names of these kings like Govindavarma and Madhavavarma in support of his view. In the early history of Andhra there seems to be no marked distinction between Saivism and Vaishnavism as the only religions of the day were Hinduism and Buddhism. No famous deity of Vaishnavaite cult assignable to the range of Nallamalai hills has been so far known to history.

The names of the kings like Govindavarma, Madhavavarma need not essentially be out of their devotion only to Vishnu. We can as well say that these kings were equally devoted to Siva and Vishnu as evidenced by their cave temples dedicated to Nataraja at Mogalrajapuram as well as to Anantasayini at Undavalli. Further, in my recent excavations at Yeleswaram a hoard of 49 coins of the Vishnukundin dynasty has been unearthed and they clearly bear Nandi on the obverse and Sankha on the reverse.

Regarding the genealogy of the Vishnukundins, scholars still differ in accepting the third Madhavavarma who is supposed to be identical with the namesake of Madhavavarma I. This point of controversy has created more diverging views regarding the chronological sequence of their reigns. Madhavavarma-I who is credited with the performance of eleven Asvamedhas and one thousand Agniṣṭomas is the greatest of the Vishnukundin kings. This Madhavavarma is taken by scholars as the founder of the dynasty though we come across Govindavarma his father and Vikramendravarma his grandfather as his predecessors in the Polamuru plates. Then what was their status prior to their rise to the imperial dignity at the time of Madhavavarma? Further it is observed from the existing sources that Madhavavarma-I had conquered several kingdoms and spread the Vishnukundin power over large areas. Prior to these adventures it is to be assumed that their territory was confined only to a small area near about Nagarjunakonda including some parts of Telangana. Of course this assumption requires confirmation by further sources and future researches. The next problem is about the seal of these kings. We are having two kinds of coins one with Nandi on the obverse and Sankha on the reverse and the other with lion on the obverse and vase on the reverse. These two main types of coins are so far assigned to the Vishnukundin dynasty. Their provenance from various parts of Andhra country gives us a clue to say that these kings had their suzerainty on the entire Andhra area.

Some of the above controversial views of the scholars have been discussed by Dr. Rama Rao very lucidly in this monograph and this will certainly serve to be a useful addition to the Vishnukundin history. I express my deep gratitude and thanks to Dr. M. Rama Rao for the trouble he has taken to prepare a catalogue of coins of the Vishnukundin dynasty for the Department of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh.

I have great pleasure in tendering my sincere thanks to Sri P.V.G. Raju, Minister for Education, Andhra Pradesh and Sri L.N. Gupta, I.A.S. Secretary to Government, Education Department, for the interest and encouragement they have shown by sanctioning the inclusion of this work in the Departmental series.

My thanks are also due to Messrs Ajanta Printers for their prompt attention to bring out this work in proper time.

In the end, I shall be failing in my duties if I do not thank my colleague Sri Ramanamurti, Dy. Director of Archaeology for assisting me in going through the typed copies and giving me necessary help.

I am also thankful to my friend Sri Jagdish Mittal who has always been a source of inspiration to me for going through the proofs and for giving valuable suggestions.

MD. ABDUL WAHEED KHAN

PREFACE

A Catalogue of select Sātavāhana coins preserved in the cabinets of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad, prepared by me, was published previously by the Archaeological Department of Andhra Pradesh. Sri N. Ramesan, the then Director of Archaeology, invited me to continue my study of the coins in the Museum and examine the coins of the post-Sātavāhana period and I gladly agreed.

I found, during the course of my examination of these coins, in April-May, 1961, a number of copper coins of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, many gold and silver coins of the western Cāḷukyas, Yādavas and others and over 14,000 copper pieces of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. It was decided that these coins should be published in three separate monographs.

This is a descriptive Catalogue of select Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins. As suggested by Sri Ramesan, I have reviewed in this monograph the history and monuments of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins along with their coins so that this monograph may be of greater use to readers.

I thank Sri Ramesan for kindly inviting me to prepare this monograph and the staff of the A. P. Government Museum for many kinds of help rendered during the course of my examination of these coins. I am grateful to Sri S. Govindarajulu Naidu Garu, Vice-Chancellor of the Sri Venkatesvara University, for kindly permitting me to do this work. I offer this monograph to the sacred feet of the Lord of Seven hills.

श्रीवेंकटेशपादाब्जसन्निधौ श्रेयसां निधौ

Ānandanilayaṁ
Tirupati
1-5-1962

M. RAMA RAO

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THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS — THEIR HISTORY, MONUMENTS AND COINS

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins are one of the important dynasties that ruled over part of coastal Āndhradēśa for about a century and half during the post-Sātavāhana and pre-Cāḷukyan period (220-624 A. D.). They were a powerful ruling family which made substantial contributions not only in the field of Brāhmanical revival but also in the realms of art and architecture.

I HISTORY

The history of this royal family is known from the following six copper-plate grants and one stone inscription :

(1) *The Polamūru plates of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman :* Issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, in the month of Phālguṇa, this grant registers a gift of the village of Pulomḃūru, on the bank of the Daliyavāvi river, in the *Guddavādi-viṣaya,* and four *nivartnas* of land on the southern border of Mayindavāṭaki by the king to a brāhman, named Śivaśarman. This grant Mentions three generations of rulers - Vikramahēndra, who was a devotee of the Lord of Śrīparvata, who, among the viṣṇukuṇḍins, was of unimpeded command, who subjugated a circle of vassal kings by his valour and who had the heroism, glory and strength of the lord of the gods; his son, Gōvindavarman, who obtained victories in many battles, whose feet were adorned by the gems set in the crowns of enemy kings and who was also known as Vikramāśraya and his grandson, Mahārāja Mādhavavarman *alias* Janāśraya, who is rich in strength, valour and fame, who is the owner of the earth of ten hundreds, who conducted various *Divyas,* who is interested in moving about with the young women in the palaces of Tivaranagara, who has great fame on account of the possession of numerous good qualities, who performed 1000 *kratus,* who was born out of *Hirāṇyagarbha,* who destroyed the stain of the world by washing it with the *avabhṛtasnānas* of eleven *aśvamēdhas,* who is devoted to the protection of all living creatures, and who is the support of brāhmaṇas scholars, old people and sages. This Mādhavavarman was also a Paramabrahmaṇya and a devotee of his father and mother. The grant was addressed to the Viṣayamahattaras and officials of the Guddavādi-viṣaya. It is stated that at the time of making this grant, the king had crossed the Gōdāvary with the intention of making conquests in the east. The

donee was the grandson of Rudraśarman, a scholar of Vēda and Vēdāṁga and son of Dāma-śarman, who excelled his father in good qualities and was of the Gautama gōtra and a resident of Kunduru in the *Karmarāṣṭra,* a student of the Taittirīya school and a scholar of the four Vēdas. The executors of the grant were Hastikōśa and Vīrakōśa.[1]

(2) *Īpūr I plates of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman :* Dated on the 15th day of the seventh fortnight of summer in the 37th year of the king's reign, and issued from the victorious camp at Kuḍavāḍa, this grant registers the king's gift of the village of Vilembali in the *Guddadi-viṣaya* to a brāhman named Agniśarman of the Vatsa gōtra. It mentions three generations of kings - Mahārāja Gōvindavarman, who was a devotee of the Lord of Śrīparvata, who was of unlimitted strength and valour among the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, who was superemely devoted to *Dharma* and who gave away many cows and Hiraṇyas and much land; his son, Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, who was the joy to the hearts of the young women of the palaces of Trivaranagara, who performed 1000 *agniṣṭōmas,* the was born out of *Hiraṇya-garbha* and who washed the stain of the world by performing eleven *aśvamēdhas.* This grant was executed by Mancaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka, the beloved son of the donor.[2]

(3) *Īpūr II plates of Mādhavavarman :* Issued from Amarapura and dated on the 7th day of the 7th fortnight of the rainy season in the 47th year, the grant registers the gift of the village of Murokaki to two brāhmans, named Agniśarman and Indraśarman. It mentions three generations - Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, who washed the sins of the world by performnig eleven *aṣvamēdhas* and 1000 *agnihōtras*; his son, Dēvavarman, who was valourous and grandason, Mādhavarman, who was the Lord of Trikuṭa and Malaya and a devotee, of the Lord of Śrīparvata.[3]

(4) *Rāmatīrtham plates of Indravarman :* Issued from the camp at Puraṇisaṁgama, this grant registers the gift of the village of Peruvāḍaka in the *plaki-rāstra* as an *agrahāra* to Nagnaśarman of the Mandīra gōtra, a student of the Taittirīya branch. It mentions three generations – Mahārāja Mādhavarman, who was a devotee of the Lord of Śrīparvata, who washed the sins of the world by performing eleven *aśvamēdhas* and who performed 1000 *kratus*; his son, Vikramēndravarman, who was an ornament of two families and grandson, Indravarman, who obtained many victories in the battles of four-tusked elephants.[4]

(5) *Chikkuḷḷa plates of Vikramēndravarman :* Issued from the camp at Vijaya-ḷeṅdulūra and dated in the 10th year, this grant registers the gift of the village of Rēgonraṁ in Natṛapāṭi to god Sōmagirīśvaranātha. It mentions four generations — Mahārāja Mādhavavarman, who was a devotee of the Lord of Śrīparvata, who performed eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus,* who obtained paramountcy over all creatures by performing

1. *JAHRS* V–i, pp. 17–22
2. *Ep. Ind.* XVII, pp. 334–337
3. *Ibid* XVII. pp. 337-339
4. *Ibid* XII, pp. 133-136

the *Sarvamēdha*, who also performed the *Bahusuvarṇa*, *Puṇḍarīka*, *Purusamēdha*, *Vājapēya*, *Adhyaṣōḍasī*, *Rājasūya*, *Prādhirājya*, *Prājāpatya* and other ten thousand sacrifices ; his son, Vikramēndravarman, whose birth adorned the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Vākāṭaka families and grandson, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, who obtained victories in many battles of four-tusked elephants, who earned great merit by conducting many *Ghaṭikas*, who gifted lands, cows, virgins and hiraṇyas and who was a Paramamāhēśvara ; and great - grandson, Mahārāja Śrīmān Vikramēndravarman, who was the eldest son of his father, who was adorned with all royal qualities even as a child, one on whom the burden of the kingdom was well laid and who was a Parmamāhēśvara.[1]

(6) Tuṇḍi plates of Vikramēndravarman—This grant registers the gift of the village of Tuṇḍi by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman, to a brāhman named Svāmiśarman. It mentions four generations of Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings-Mahārāja Mādhavarman, who was a devotee of the Lord of Śrīparvata, who performed eleven *aśvamēdhas*, and one thousand *kratus*, who obtained power over all the elements by the performance of the *Sarvamēdha*, who performed eleven *Bahusuvarṇas*, *puṇḍarīkas* and other sacrifices, who obtained *Pāramēṣṭya* or supreme sovereignty by performing the *Puruṣamēdha*; his son, Śrī Vikrmēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman whose birth adorned the Viṣṇukuṇḍi and Vākāṭaka families; his son, mahārāja Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, who put to flight a number of kinsmen, who obtained victories in numerous battles of four tusked elepehants, who kept going a numer of *Ghaṭikas* and who was a *paramabrahmaṇya* and *Paramamāhēśvara* and his son, the donor. The donee was a resident of the village of Āki and belonged to the Kauṇḍinya gōtra and Āpastambasutra. He was the grandson of Rudraśarman.[2]

(7) *Vēlpūru inscription of Mādhavavarman :* This mutilated record contains the names of the dynasty and of Mādhavavarman.[3]

Origin and original home : There is a good deal of controversy regarding the origin and original home of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Bṛhatpalāyana, Śālaṅkāyana, Ānanda and Viṣṇukuṇḍin are some of the names borne by royal families of the post-Sātavāhana period. The first three are names of gōtras to which the ruling families belonged. Since their surnames are not known they are generally referred to by the names of their gōtras. The name Viṣṇukuṇḍin is, however, different. Expressions like *Viṣṇukuṇḍinām Mādhavavarmā*, *ubhaya-vāṁśā-tmajā-laṁkāra-bhūtaḥ* and *Viṣṇukuṇḍi-Vākāṭaka-Vamśadvayā-laṁkṛta-janmā* show beyond boubt that the name Viṣṇukuṇḍin denotes a surname or the name of a *kula*.[4]

Kielhorn has stated that "considering the locality where these plates came from as

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1. *Ibid* IV, pp. 193-198
2. *Indian Arahaeology* 1956-57, p. 39; A.P. Govt. Arch. Series No. 8.
3. *S. I. I.* X No. 1
4. K. V. L. Rao's view that it denotes the name of a gōtra (*Jour. dept. of letters* XI, p. 54 and *Bhārati* VIII p. 302) is untenable.

well as the fact that the writer's vernacular was Telugu and that, the donar worshipped the Lord of Śrīparvata, which I take to be the sacred Śrīśaila in the Kurnool district, I believe that the word survives in Vinukonda, the name of a hill fort and town in the Kistna district, about sixty miles east of Śrīśailam and fifty miles south of the river Kistna, and that this Vinukonda, which is reported to be a place of great antiquity, was really the capital of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.[1]'' The late B. V. Krishna Rao accepted this view and suggested that the Kuṇḍinapura figuring in some of the Local Records might have originally been Viṣṇukuṇḍinapura and that of the two tributaries of the Guṇḍlakaṁmā or Brahmakuṇḍī stream, one might have been known as Rudrakuṇḍī and the other as Viṣṇukuṇḍī after the Hindu trinity.[2] Some writers attach considerable importance to a few stories current in Āndhradēśa. A number of Kṣatriyas in Āndhra claim descent from a certain Mādhavavarman. A Telugu literary work of the sixteenth century mentions the migration of Kṣatriyas of the Vaśiṣṭa, Kauṇḍinya, Dhanaṁjaya and Kāśyapa gōtras from the north to Āndhradēśa under the lead of a Mādhavavarman, in S. S. 514 (592 A.D.). An inscription of the 12th century, found at Vijayavāḍa, refers to a king named Mādhavavarman who ruled locally in S.S. 514. The Madhavavarman of these stories is identified with the famous rular of that name in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family and taken to be its founder and first rular. Further, it is suggested that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were a northern family on the basis of Viṣṇukuṇḍin-Vākāṭaka relationship. It is held that they migrated to coastal Āndhradēśa towards the end of Śālaṅkāyana rule, settled down round Bezwada and rose to power subsequently.[3] The name Viṣṇukuṇḍin suggests the name Vinhukaḍa in the fuller name of *Vinhukaḍa-Cutukutanaṅda Sātakarṇi*, the ruler of Vanavāsi in the second quarter of the third century A.D. But this Sātakarṇi was of the Mānavayasa gōtra and was a Hārītīputra. Both these appellations were taken over by the Cāḷukyas and the Kadaṁbas. The absence of these epithets in the case of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins negates the possibility of Vinhukaḍa being connected with Viṣṇukuṇḍin. One writer has suggested that the epithet *Śrīparvatasvāmi-Pādānudhyātaḥ* is not borne by the first ruler of this family, that the dynastic name as well as the names of individual kings are Vaiṣṇava and that, therefore, the Śrīparvatasvāmi, the tutelary diety of this family, need not necessarily be the Mallikārjuna-Śiva of Śrīśailam and that he might as well be a manifestation of Viṣṇu on Śrīparvata or Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[4] If this surmise is accepted, the home of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins has to be located in or near the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley.

Much reliance cannot be placed on the local tradition though the date S. S. 514 (592 A.D.) for Mādhavavarman happens to be peculiarly correct. The founder of the family was

1. *Ep. Ind*—IV., pp. 194—195,
2. *Early. Dyn-Andhra* pp. 422—427
3. *Andhra Vijñāna Sarasvamu* pp. 120-121.
4. K. Gopalachari—*Early History of Andhradēśa* p. 201.

not a Mādhavavarman but Vikramahēndra.

Genealogy : The genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family has been a matter of serious controversy. Several writers have formulated divergent schemes, some holding that there was unilateral succession among nine generations and others proposing a scheme with collateral branches.

Inscriptions supply the following useful information :

Polamūru plates	*Īpūr I. Plates*	*Īpūr II plates*
Vikaramahēndra	—	
Gōvindavarman	Gōvindavarman	—
Mādhavavarman	Mādhavarman	—
Performer of 1000 *Kratus* and the beloved of the women of Trivaranagara.	Performer of 1000 *agniṣṭōmas*, and beloved of the women of Trivaranagara.	Mādhavavarman I Performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus*
		Dēvavarman
		Mādhavavarman II
		Lord of Trikuṭa-Malaya

Rāmatīrtham plates	*Chikkuḷḷa plates*
Mādhavavarman	Mādhavavarman
Performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus*	Performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus*
Vikramēndravarman	Vikramēndravarman
Ornament of two families	Ornament of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Vākāṭaka families
Indravarman	Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman
Obtained victories in battles of four-tusked elephants.	Obtained victories in battles of four-tusked elephants.
	Vikramēndravarman

The three generations given in the Rāmatīrtham plates are identical with the first three generations mentioned in the Chikkuḷḷa plates. Similarly, the description of Mahārāja Mādhavavarman of Īpūr II plates is identical with that given in the Chikkuḷḷa and Rāmatīrtham plates. For this reason, the Mādhavavarman of all the three plates has to be taken to be identical. This basic identification yields the following genealogy :

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman
Performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and one thousand *kratus*

Dēvavaraman	Vikramēndravarman
Mādhavavarman II	Indarabhaṭṭāraka
	Vikramēndravarman II

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman figuers with identical description and as the son of Gōvindavaraman in Īpūr I, Pōlamūru and Rāmatīrtham plates. He may, therefore, be taken to have been one and the same person. This identification gives the following genealogy :

Vikramahēndra
|
Mahārāja Gōvindavarman *alias* Vikramāśraya
|
Mahārāja Mādhavavarman *alias* Janāśraya
|
Mancāṇṇabhaṭṭāraka

We thus have two groups of kings. One problem that arises at this juncture relates to the relationship between these two groups of rulers. Several suggestions have been made in this connection. Hultzsch held that the alphabet of the Rāmatīrtham plates resembles that of the Chikkuḷḷa plates and identified Mādhavavaraman, the donor of the Īpūr I plates with the Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham plates. He also held that the Īpur I plates are earlier than the Īpūr II plates and suggested that Mādhavavarman II of Īpūr II, Rāmatīrtham and Chikuḷḷa plates was the grandfa ther of the Mādhavavaraman, son of Gōvindavaraman of the Polamūru and Īpūr I plates. Accordingly, he desiginated Mādhavavarman, son of Gōvindavarman, as Mādhavavarman III. This lead was followed by other writers. Lakshmana Rao, guided also by the temporal proximity of Mādhavavarman of the Polamūru plates to the second Eastern Cālukyan king, Jayasiṁhạ I, formulated a unilateral genealogy as follows :[1]

Mādhavavarman I
|
Dēvavarman
|
Mādhavavarman II
|
Vikramēndra I
|
Indrabhaṭṭāraka
|
Vikramēndra II
|
Gōvindavarman
|
Mādhavavarman III
|
Mancaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka

This long genealogy is the result of two identifications—(i) of Mādhavavarman II of Īpūr II plates with the Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa plates and (2) of

1. *Jour. Depart. Letters* p. 404.

Vikramēndra of the Polamūru plates with Vikramēndravarman II of the Chikkuḷḷa plates. Writers like Krishnarao, Sarma and Subbarao[1] followed this lead. Both the identifications are wrong. Mādhavavarman II of the Īpūr II plates is described as the Lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya while the Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkuḷḷa plates is described as the performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus*. Further, Mādhavavarman I, the grandfather of Mādhavavarman II of the Īpūr II plates, is described in identical terms. It is certain, therefore, that Mādhavavarman of Īpūr I plates and Mādhavavarman of the Chikkuḷḷa and Rāmatīrtham plates cannot be identical. Similarly, the first king in the Polamuru plates is Vikramahēndra and not Vikramēndra. He is described as of unimpeded command and as the overlord of several vassal kings, while Vikramēndra II is described in different terms. Vikramahēndra was a devotee of the Lord of Srīparvata while Vikramēndra II was a Paramamāhēśvara. The writers mentioned above seem to reply upon the statement of the Madras Epigraphist that the alphabet of the Polamūru grant is much later compared with that of the Chikkuḷḷa and Rāmatīrtham plates, but they failed to take notice of the further remark of the Epigraphist that "if Vikramahēndra is identical with Vikramēndra and could be identified with the Vikramēndra II of the Chikkuḷḷa plates, two further generations of Viṣṇukuṇḍins may be supplied by these plates. But it is very doubtful if, on account of the later type of the characters, we can do so".[2] One writer derived a curious genealogy of ten kings consisting of four Mādhavavarmans and two Gōvindavarmans following strictly the so called paleographical order of the plates viz. Īpūr I, Īpūr II, Rāmatīrtham, Chikkuḷḷa and Polamuru.[3] This view is entirely in conflict with the internal evidence of the inscriptions. Even a cursory glance at the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions shows that the successions were not unilateral as supposed by these writers but collateral. Mādhavavarman, the performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas*, and 1000 *kratus* being the common ancestor, two branches were descended from him, one through Dēvavarman and the other through Vikramēndravarman I, whose mother was a Vākāṭaka princess. Further, according to this unilateral genealogical table, there would be two kings, Mādhavavarman I and his seventh successor, Mādhavavarman III, both performers of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus*, in the same family within a very short interval of time. Lastly, this scheme of nine rulers places the commencement of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule about 400 A.D. according to two writers.[4] This date is impossible because up to about the middle of the fifth century A.D. it was the Śālaṅkāyanas and not the Viṣṇukuṇḍins that ruled over Vēṅgī. Further, there is no justification for assigning a regnal period to Mancaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka because he was just a young lad during the life time of his father and does not seem to have succeeded him. Again

1. *Bhrati*, Agust 1934, p. 308; *JAHRS* V-3, p. 184; *Ibid* VI-i, p. 19.
2. *MER* 1914 pt. para 35.
3. K. R. Subramanian—*Andhra Buddhism* and *Āndhra History*, p. 113.
4. *JAHRS* VI-i, p. 19 and V-3, p. 185.

Dēvavarman and Mādhavavarman II are not described as rulers and the later seems to have been under the authority of an *Adhirāja*. Thus, three out of the nine rulers of the long genealogical list do not seem to have ruled and the ascription of reign periods to these members of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family in the chronological schemes given by the writers mentioned above is incorrect.

Mahārāja Mādhavavarman figuring in all the published grants of this family is described uniformly as the performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus* and there is no objection to his being considered as one and the same individual. This is my own view and the view of Drs. Sircar[2] and Gopalachari.[3]

The genealogy of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins may be stated as follows:

Vikramēndravarman
|
Mahārāja Gōvindavarman, Vikramāśraya
|
Mahārāja Mādhavarman I Janāśraya
|
Dēvavarman — Mādhavarman II
Vikramēndra I — Indrabhaṭṭāraka — Vikramēndra II
Mancaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka

Chronology: The chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty, like its genealogy, has been a controversial problem and several schemes have been proposed by previous writers. The determination of this chronology involves several questions e.g., what were the limits of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule? What was the total duration of the rule?

A family of kings belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana gōtra and popularly known as the Sālaṅkāyanas, ruled over the Vēṅgī region till about the middle of the fifth century A. D. Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule over the same region would, therefore, be possible only after the end of Śālankāyana rule. Similarly, the Easteran Cāḷukyas founded their rule over part of coastal Āndhradēśa in 624 A. D. and this shows that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins must have disappeared by that date. Thus it can be held in a general way that Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule lasted from about the middle of the fifth century to some time in the first quatrer of the seventh century A.D.

Of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions, the Polamūru plates are dated in the 48th regnal year of Mādhavavarman I, the Rāmatīrtham plates in the 27th year of Indravarman and the Chikkuḷḷa plates in the 10th year of Vikramēndravarman II. The Īpūr I plates were issued by the same king eleven years earlier than the Polamūru plates and so their date need not be taken into consideration. Since the Īpūr II plates mention an Adhirāja and the 47th

1. *Proc. Ind. Hist. Con.* 1941 p. 198
2. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 104
3. *Early History of Andhradēśa* p. 204

year, this date must be taken to be the regnal year of the Adhirāja or sovereign ruler. As Mādhavavarman II does not have any regal titles, and since his father, Dēvavarman also is not definitely described as a Mahārāja it may be taken that these two members did not rule as sovereigns. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin records give us a total of (48+27+10=) 85 regnal years. Adding to this about fifty years for the reigns of Mahārāja Gōvindavaraman and his father, Vikramahēndra, both of whom preceded Mādhavavarman I, we obtain 135 or 140 years as the probable duration of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule.

Among the writers who proposed a shorter and collateral genealogy, two have stated the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins as follows :

Dr. Gopalachari[1]		*D. C. Sirkar*[2]	
..		Vikramahēndra	500–520
		Gōvindavarman	520-535
		Mādhavavaraman I	535–585
Mādhavavarman	553–93	Mādhavavarman II	585–615
Vikramēndra I	593–618	Vikramēndra I	615–625
Indrabhaṭṭāraka	618–43	Indrabhaṭṭāraka	625–655
Vikramēndra II	643–68	Vikramēndra II	655–670

These two schemes are based upon certain presumptions.—(1) that the expedition of Pulakēśin II, the celebrated ruler of the Early Cāḷukyan family, did not result in the conquest of Vēṅgī, (2) that the last Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the first two Eastern Cāḷukyan rulers were contemporaries and (3) that the Eastern Cāḷukyas took Vēṅgī directly from the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. All these presumptions are against well established facts of contemporary history and therefore untenable. Dr. Sircar holds that there is no evidence to show that Pulakēśin II conquered Vēṅgī during the course of his campaign described in the Aihole inscription though he admits that Kaunāla, taken by the Cāḷukyas, is the Kolleru lake, situated very near Vēṅgī. He adds that Viṣṇukuṇḍin Indrabhaṭṭāraka invaded the Viśākhapaṭnam district while the first two Eastern Cāḷukyan kings, Viṣṇuvardhana I and Jayasiṁha I, were in possession of it. According to him, Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule ended possibly about the end of the seventh or somewhere in the eighth century A.D.[3]. Dr. Gopalachari held that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were still ruling in the Vēṅgī country when Pulakēśin invaded it in the beginning of the seventh century.[4] These writers have committed the unfortunate mistake of neglecting a significant passage in the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśin.[5] The significance of the eastern campaign of this Cāḷukyan monarch can be understood properly

1. *Early Hist. Āndhra*, pp. 207—208.
2. Suc. Sāt, p. 112
3. *Suc. Sāta* pp. 112 and 208
4. *Early History Āndhradeśa* p. 103
5. *Ep. Ind.* XVIII pp. 257—60

only if the Aihole inscrption and the Kopparam plates are taken together. The Aihole record describes the march of the Cālukyas from Kōsala to Kaḷinga, Kaḷinga to Piṣṭapura, Piṣṭapura to Kaunāla and from Kaunāla into Pallava territory. The Kopparam plates, issued in the 21st year of the reign of Pulakēśin, corresponding to 629-30 A.D., record his gift of a village in Karmarāṣṭra, proclaimed by his *yuvarāja* and younger brother, Viṣṇuvardhana. This Viṣṇuvardhana is described as having secured a kingdom in the lineage of his son even by that time. If this kingdom did not extend into Karmarāṣṭra how could he have announced a gift made in that region ? He is known, from other sources[1], to have been ruling over the Viśākhapaṭnam and East Godavary districts. If the intervening districts of West Godavary and Krishna were not under his rule how could he have crossed them and entered the Guntur district to the farther south ? The Chikkuḷla plates record the gift of a village on the bank of the river Krishna by Vikramēndravarman II, Viṣṇukuṇḍin. Is this compatible with the prevalence of Eastern Cālukyan rule in this region simultaneously ? There is an inscription at Chezerla, in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district, which mentions a *Viṣamasiddhi* and which has been assigned to the first Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Viṣṇuvardhana I[2]. Mādhavavarman II of Ipūr II plates is described as the Lord of Trikuṭa-Malaya and this Trikūṭa has been correctly indentified with the Kōṭappakoṇḍa hill in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district. Inscriptions of Jayasimha I, the second Eastern Cāḷukyan king, are found at Vipparla, in the same taluk and district. How then can the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Cāḷukyas be contemporary rulers in the same region ? A careful examination of the provenance of the inscriptions of the first two rulers of the Eastern Cāḷukyan family throws further light on this problem. The Chīpurupalli plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I[3] record a gift made by him while in a camp in the *Plaki-viṣaya*, of a village in the *Dimili-viṣaya.* His Timmāpuram plates[4] issued from Piṣṭapura, register a gift made in the *Plaki-viṣaya.* The Kopparam plates[5] register a gift made in the *Karmarāṣṭra* in the Guntur district. Of the records of Viṣṇuvardhana's son and immediate successor, Jayasiṁha I, the Pedamaddāli plates,[6] issued from Udayapura, identified by some with Udayagiri in the Nellore district, record the gift of a village in the *Gudrahāra-viṣaya* identified with the region round about Gudivāḍa in the Vēṅgī area. The Mōparru plates[7] record the gift of a village of that name in the Guḍivāḍa taluk of the Krishna district. The Niḍuparru[8] grant mentions

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1. *Ibid* IX—pp. 317—319
2. *S. I. I.* VI—No. 593
3. *Ind. Ant.* XX, pp. 15—18
4. *Ep. Ind.* IX, pp. 317—319.
5. *Ibid* XVIII, pp. 257—260.
6. *Ind. Ant*, XIII, pp. 107—138.
7. C, P. No. 9 or *M. E. R.* 1919—20.
8. *E.p. Ind.* XVIII, pp. 55—58.

a gift made in the *Gaṇḍēruvāṭi-viṣaya*, near the Krishna. The Pedavēgi plates[1] record the gift of a village near Velaṅṭūru or modern Vellaṭūr in the lower Krishna basin. The Polamūru grant[2] speaks of a gift made in the *Guddavādi-viṣaya* on the northern bank of the Godavary. The Vipparla inscription[3] registers the gift of the village of that name in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur district. The provenance of the inscriptions mentioned above and the gifts conveyed through them show beyond doubt that both Viṣṇuvardhana 1 and his son, and immediate successor, Jayasiṁha I, ruled over that part of coastal Āndradēśa corresponding to the modern districts of Viśākhapaṭnam, Godavary, Krishna and Guntur. Of them, the former ruled between 624—642 A.D., and the latter between 642–675 A. D. The records of Viṣṇuvaradhana II who, more or less, followed Jayasiṁha I, are found in the Krishna and Guutur Districts. It is thus evident that Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule could not have prevailed in the Vēṅgī area after 624 A. D., the year in which Eastern Cāḷukyan rule was founded by Viṣṇuvardhana I. Thus the contemporaneity of the last two Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the first two Eastern Cāḷukyas, on which the chronologies mentioned above rest becomes an impossibility.

There are several other objections to Dr. Sircar's view, regarding Viṣṇukuṇḍin chronology- (1) He takes the 5th year of the Cāḷukyan king, Jayasiṁha I, and the year in which his Polamuru grant was issued, to be 637 A. D. on the presumption that Eastern Cāḷukyan rule started in 615 A. D. as proposed by Fleet.[4] Fleet's date is now known to be incorrect and the foundation of Eastern Cāḷukyan rule has to be ascribed to 624 A. D. Secondly, this writer states that Dēvavarman and Vikramēndravarman I predeceased their father, Mādhavavarman I, but actually assigns the latter a reign of ten years[5]. Thirdly, Mādhavavarman II is not stated to have ruled out said to have been his grandfather's viceroy. Hence a reign of thirty years, assigned to him, becomes untenable. This makes a total difference of forty years. In the fourth place, even it be held, as Dr. Sircar does, that the 40th year of Mādhavavarman I corresponded to 587 A.D. his initial year would be 547 and not 535 A. D.[6] Further, there was no lunar eclipse on Phālugṇa-pūrṇima day in 587 A. D., the so called 40th year of Mādhavavarman II's reign.[7]

Now arises the question from whom did the Cāḷukyas take Vēṅgī. As shown above they could not have conquered it from the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. None of the early Eastern Cāḷukyan records refers to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Eastern Cāḷukyan inscriptions of a later date state

1. *Ibid* XIX, pp.256—61.
2. *Ibid* XIX, pp. 254—58.
3. *M. E. R.* 147 of 1899.
4. *Suc. Sata*, pp. 107-112
5. *Ibid*, p. 117
6. *Ibid*, p. 392
7. *Ibid*, p. 111

that the Cāḷukyas obtained vēṅgī from the Durjayas[1]. A family of this description is known to have been ruling about this time from Piṣṭapura[2].

Taking 624 D. as the year of the foundation of Eastern Cāḷukyan rule and allowing a short interval for the rule of the Durjayas over Vēṅgī, the end of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule may be reasonably assigned to about 615 A. D. Two other points have, however, to be taken into consideration in this connection. It is necessary that the Phālguṇa-purnima day in the 48th year of Mādhavavarman I should be the day of a lunar eclipse. Similarly, the interval between this Mādhavavarman and the Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Jayasiṁha I, should not be too long. Taking all these considerations into account and holding that Dēvavarman, Vikramēndra I and Mādhavavarman II did not rule as sovereigns. I formulate the chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins as follows :—

Vikramahēndravarman	475—500 A. D.
Gōvindavarman	500—525 A. D.
Mādhavavarman I	525—575 A. D.
Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman	575—602 A. D.
Vikramēndravarman II	602—615 A. D.

The reasonable nature of this chronology is borne out by two considerations—(1) There was a lunar eclipse on 11th February, 575 A. D., a Phālguṇa—purṇima day which falls within the reign of Mādhvavarman I (2) If this be the last year of Mādhavarman and if the Polamūru plates of Cāḷukya Jayasiṁha are dated in the fifth year of his reign, corresponding to 647 A. D. the interval between the two dates would be 72 years and accords with the synchronism postulated by the two Polamuru plates.

Rise to power :— The inscriptions of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins do not state how the dynasty rose to political power. A careful study of the contents of these records and of a few important facts of contemporary history help us to infer, with reasonable certainty, the manner of the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins to power.

The Pallavas conquered the Ikṣvākus and occupied the latter's dominions on the east coast about 270 A.D. and ruled for about three centuries. This Pallava rule was, however, confined to the districts to the south of the Krishna. In the region to the north of the river, the Śālankāyanas rose to power more or less simultaneously with the Pallavas and ruled for about two centuries from Vēṅgi. It was in this Vengi region that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins rose to power, obviously putting an end to Śālaṅkāyana rule.

A few kings belonging to the Ānanda gōtra ruled over the northern part of the Guntur District intermittently as Pallava contemporaries. Kandara I, the founder and first ruler of this familly (375–400), rose to power in the last quarter of the fourth century. The early Pallava king, Skandavarman, is said to have fought bitterly and obtained a kingdom

1. *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 88—99

by his valour[1]. This indicates Pallava reconquest of Ānanda territory after the death of Kandara I. But this was a short lived glory. The Ānandas revived their rule over the northen part of the Guntur destrict under Dāmōdaravarman (425-450) and Attivarman (450-476). The contemporary Pallava king, Vīravarman had to fight many battles with these two Ānanda rulers. Ultimately, after the death of Attivarman, Pallava Vijaya-skandavarman III (450-475) penetrated into Ānanda territory, re-conquered Karmarāṣtra and marched up to Tāmbrāpa or Chēbrōlu in the northern part of the Guntur district. This Skandavarman was succeeded by his son, Siṁhavarman I (475-610) whose inscriptions contain gifts made exclusively in the Muṇḍarāṣtra.[2] This Pallava seems obviously to have lost his hold over Karmarāṣṭra and other northern territories. There were no Ānanda rulers at this time who could have forced the Pallavas to confine their rule to the south. It must therefore be some other power that put a stop, temporarily, to Pallava rule in the northern part of the Guntur district.

The commencement of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule has to be ascribed, as stated previously, to about 475 A. D. Both Vikramahēndravarman and son, Gōvindavarman, the first two rulers of this dynasty, are said to have fought many battles and subjugated many kings. They were ruling to the north of the Krishna at a time when Pallava power was confined to *Muṇḍarāṣṭra* and when *Karmarāṣṭra* went out of their control. To have reached the Vēṅgī region and set up independent rule therein, the Vishnukuṇḍins must have marched through the northern part of the Guntur district. The years immediately following the death of Attivarman would suit this purpose eminently. Further, the Viṣṇukuṇdins are known to have supplanted the Śālaṅkāyanas and Śālaṅkāyana territory included Kudrahāra which lay partly in the northern part of the Guntur district. It seemsreasonable to infer, from these circumstances, that Vikramahēndravarman and his relations took advantage of the chaos that must have engulfed the Ānanda dominions after the death of Attivarman, invaded and conquered the Ānanda territory, and the Śālakāyana territory to the south of the Krishna, then crossed the river, attacked the Śālaṅkāyanas and put an end to their rule. It must be the first Viṣṇukuṇḍin ruler that put an end to the Śālanakāyanas and occupied Vēṅgī in the north and forced the Pallavas out of *Karmarāṣṭra* and made them confine their rule tō *Muṇḍarāṣṭra* in the south. Thus the Viṣṇukuṇḍins rose to power partly at the expense of the Pallavas and fully at the expense of the Śālaṅkāyanas.

Some reigns :—The period of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule was, undoubtedly one of the most glorious epochs in the early history of Āndhradēśa but very few details are known about the wars and other political events of the time. The c. p. grants and the single stone inscription of this family contain a few epithets about the rulers and these have to be interpreted

1. *Omgodu Plates* in *Ep. Ind.* XV, pp. 244—52; *Neduṁgarāya* Grant in *Bhārati* XVIII, pp. 699—712.
2. *Uruvapalli plates* in *Ind. Ant.* V., pp. 50—53;

in the context of contemporary history and a few facts of outstanding importance inferred.

As already stated, the Viṣṇukuṇḍins sallied forth from their original home in the Śrīśailam–Vinukoṇḍa region, took advantage of the death of the Ānanda gōtra king, Attivarman, made conquests on either bank of the Krishna and established themselves in the Vēṅgī area.

Mādhavavarman I: We do not know much about the achievements of the first two rulers of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family except that they were good fighters. The third ruler, Mādhavavarman I, was the greatest ruler of the entire family and one of the powerful kings of the post—Sātavāhana and pre-Cāḷukyan period. He is praised in all Viṣṇukuṇḍin records as the performer of eleven *aśvamēdhas* and 1000 *kratus*, while in his own grants he describes himself as the delighter of the women in the palaces of Trivaranagara, as one who was born out of Hiraṇyagarbha and as having crossed the Godavary on a victorious expedition. One of his inscriptions is found at Vēlpūr, in the Stattenapalli taluk of the Guntur District. His son was an ornament of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Vākāṭaka families. The history of the reign of Mādhavavarman I has to be inferred from these facts.

The first important event of the reign seems to have been an expedition led to the south of the Krishna. An inscription from Vēlpūr, in the Sattenapalli taluk of the Guntur district, mentions this king, and indicates that he was present at the place. The significance of the event may be inferred from contemporary history. The rule of Pallava Siṁhavarman and his viceroy, Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa, were confined at this time to *Muṇḍarāṣṭra* on account of the powerful resistence offered by the Ānanda kings, Attivarman and Dāmōdaravarman. Siṁhavarman II, the next Pallava king, took advantage of the passing away of these Ānanda kings and invaded the northern territories. He was able not only to re-conquer Karmarāṣṭra but also to take Vēṅgōrāṣṭra, identical, in all probability, with some territory on the northern bank of the Krishna. This was a terrible blow to the Ānandas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. It was about this time that Kandara II (500–525) of the Ānanda gōtra rose to fame in the northern part of the Guntur district. This must have been after the death of Siṁhavarman II. This Kandara is described as having won several elephant battles at Dhānyakaṭaka, offended the Lord of the Krishna by causing the widowhood of many Āndhra women and to have been the Lord of Trikūṭaparvata[1]. It was only the Viṣṇukuṇḍins that were known to their contemporaries at this time as *Āndhrādhipatis* or Lords of Āndhra and it was they that exercised authority over territories on both banks of the Krishna. It is very likely that Dhānyakaṭaka was one of their strongholds on the southern frontier. It is therefore certain that Kandara II fought with a Viṣṇukuṇḍin king and conquered the northern part of the Guntur district. According to the chronology adopted here, Kandara's contemporary would be Viṣṇukuṇḍin Gōvindavarman. It is likely that this Ānanda-Viṣṇu-

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1. *S. I. I.* V. No,

kundin conflict took place towards the end of the reign of Gōvindavarman. The presence of Mādhavavarman I, the next ruler, at Vēlpur in the south, can indicate only one thing viz., a Viṣṇukuṇḍin invasion of the northern part of the Guntur district in order to undo the mischief perpetrated by Kandara II. This Mādhavavarman's grandson, Mādhavavarman II, is described as the Lord of Trikuṭaparvata, a title which was borne previously by Kandara II. This too indicates that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were successful in putting down the Ānandas on this occasion. Obviously, Mādhavavarman stationed his grandson as viceroy over the southern territories with his headquarters at Trikūṭaparavata or Kōṭappakoṇḍa. Thus the Sattenapalli and Narasaraopet taluks of the Guntur district came once again under Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule.

Another important campaign of the reign was led to the east across the Godavary, as stated in the Polamuru plates. It is not known against whom this campaign was led. A line of kings belonging to the Rāmakāśyapa family ruled about this time from Piṣṭapura in southern Kaliṅga. The first two members of this family were Mahārāja Raṇadurajya and his son, Vikramēndra. The latter is not described with any royal titles. Mādhva-varman I's son, by a Vākāṭaka princess, was a Vikramēndra. With the exception of these two, no other ruler or scion of a royal family is known to have borne that name at this period. It seems as though the Rāmakāśyapas became too aggressive on the northern border of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin territory and that Mādhavavarman invaded the area beyond the Godavary and subjugated these rulers. It is probable that Raṇadurjaya named his own son after the name of Mādhavavarman's son, for this reason.

Mādhavavarman led a third and equally important expedition to the north-west, into central India. Harsēna, the Vnkāṭaka king of the Basim branch, claims to have extended the sphere of his infiuence over Gujarat, Mālva, Southern Kōsala, Āndhra and Kuntala[1]. He was a contemporary of the first two Visnukuṇḍin kings, Vikramahēndra and Gōvindavarman. He might have led a predatory raid, not successful, against the east cost just in order to prevent the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins to power. The Maukhari king, Īśānavarman, claims a victory over an Āndhrādhipati before 554 A. D[2]. Probably, he too made an unsuccessful attempt to put down the rising Viṣṇukuṇḍins. These expeditions spurred Mādhavavarman to take revenge on the rulers of the north and north-west. The Polamuru plates describe him as the beloved of the women of Trivaranagara. This Tivara or Trivaranagara is supposed to be the capital of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśi kings, and to have been so named after Trivaradēva who ruled over south Kōsala and the Chanda district and wrested the Chattisgarh district from the Vākāṭakas whose power at this time was waning.[3] Mādhava

1. *Hyderabad Archaeological series* No. 14, p. 11
2. *Corp. Ins. Ind.* III, p. 20
3. Majumdar and Altekar — *Vākāṭaka — Gupta Age.* p. 124.

varman is known to had a Vākāṭaka princess for his quēen and begotten by her, a son, named Vikramēndra. It may be reasonably inferred that the Vākāṭaka successor of Harisēna, in dire danger from Trivaradēva, appealed for Viṣṇukuṇḍin help. Mādhavavarman defeated Trivaradēva or his successor and saved the drowing Vākāṭaka, who out of gratitude gave the Viṣṇukuṇḍin a daughter of his in marriage. A large number of Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins have been obtained from the Nalagoṇḍa and Karīmnagar districts of Telangāṇa on the other side of the Eastern Ghats, indicating the prevalence of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule over this area. It must be in connection with the campaign against Trivaradēva that Mādhavavarman conquered the eastern districts of Telingāṇa.

Mādhavavarman I was thus a great conqueror. He was a devoted follower of the Vēdic faith and performed several Vēdic sacrifices besides eleven *aśvamēdhas* and one *Rājasūya* as token of his Paramountcy over the districts lying on either side of the Ghats. He also gave many valuable gifts including Hiraṇyagarbha. It is also likely that this great monarch started the excavation of the cave temples in and around Vijayavāḍa in honour of brāhmanical deities.

Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman : What happened after the death of Mādhavavarman I is not clear. He had three sons, Dēvavarman, Vikramēndravarman and Mancaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka, none of whom had any royal titles. In all probability, none of them succeeded the father. Mādhavavarman II, was the viceroy at Trikuṭaparavata and it is not known if he grew up and sat on his grandfather's throne. It is stated that Indra or Indrabhaṭṭāraka destroyed a number of kinsmen. Most probably he succeeded to his grandfather's throne and occupied it after a bitter struggle with either his own brothers or with Mādhavavarman II or other Kinsmen of collateral branches. This monarch is described as having won many victories in the battles of four-tusked elephants. His Rāmatīrtham plates convey a gift made in the Plaki-rāṣṭra or the region round about Vizianagaram in the Viśākhapaṭnam district. This indicates that this Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch invaded southern Kaḷinga. It is necessary to consider here a few statements contained in the Godavary plates Pṛthvīmūla[1]. They contain a gift made by Rājā Pṛthvīmūla, son of Mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman, a local ruler, in the East Godavary district. The gift was made at the request of Adhirāja-Indra, a *dvija*, a native of Miṇalkuḍi and a son of Mitavarman, one who obtained many victories in battles of four tusked elephants, and one who killed the elephent named *Supratīka* in a battle in the company of many kings who were all desirous of uprooting Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Fleet interpreted this to mean that Indra, king of the east fought with Indra king of the south-east, indetical with the Eastern Cāḷukyan king of that name and brother of Jayasiṁha I. Fleet's identification becomes untenable because a few

1. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* XVI, p. 16

Cālukyan grants assign a reign of seven days only to this Indra. Kielhorn[1] and Dubreuil[2] took the Indra of the Godavary plates to be indentical with Indrabhaṭṭāraka-varman, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king. It is held by many writers that the Adhirāja-Indra of the Godavary plates was an Eastern Gaṅga king of that name.[3] This view is untenable. There was no Ganga king at this time who was a son of Mitavarman. Nor was a place named Miṇalkuḍi, the headquarters of the Gāngas at any time. There need not be any doubt about the identity of the Indra of the Godavary plates with Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king. It seems as though the Adhirāja – Indra was a local chieftain ruling in Kaḷinga. Pṛthvīmula, whose father was a mahārāja, but who does not himself bear the title might have been subjugated by Mādhavavarman I. It is likely that after the death of this great Viṣṇukuṇḍin monarch and taking advantage of the troubles created by scions of the family about the succession to the throne, a number of chieftains, including Pṛthvīmula, Andhirāja Indra and the chieftains of the Rāmakāśyapa family of Piṣṭapura formed a confederacy and attacked Indrabhaṭṭāraka. The epithet "endowed with qualities of royalty even in childhood" applied to Indrabhaṭṭāraka's son and immediate successor, Vikramēndravarman II, suggests the probability of Indrabhaṭṭāraka being killed in the battle of four–tusked elephants waged with him by the confederates mentioned above and the consequent succession of his son, Vikramēndravarman I, as a boy.

Fall of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins : The end of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule seems to have been dramatic. Indrabhaṭṭāraka was succeeded by his eldest son, Vikramēndra II, whose only published grant registers the gift of a village in the *Natṛpāti - viṣaya,* situated on the bank of the Krishna. The grants of the later members of the Eastern Cāḷukyan dynasty state that the Cāḷukyas took Vēṅgī from the Durjayas. The only Durjaya family that was powerful at this time was the Rāmakāśyapa family which ruled from Piṣṭapura. Pṛthvīmahārāja of this family ruled independently for some years before the Cāḷukyan conquest of the coastal region. It is very likely that this Pṛthvīmahārāja invaded Vēṅgī, put an end to Vikramēndra II and to Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule and occupied it. It must be more or less at this time that the Pallavas pushed northwards and occupied Karmarāṣṭra and the northern part of the Guntur district up to the Krishna under Siṁhaviṣṇu and his son, Mahēndravarman I.[4]

1. *Ep. Ind.* IV, p. 195
2. *Ancient Deccan,* p. 91
3. *J. A., H. P. S.* II, p. 146, *Suc. Sat,* p. 114
4. *S. I. I.* VI, pp. 595

II MONUMENTS

The period of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule was a period of great building activity. A number of temples were excavated in hill sides for the accommodation of the deities of the Brāhmanical pantheon and this movement was a necessary concommitant of the movement of Brāhmanical revival which was in the full swing of its glory during this period.

There is a group of interesting Brāhmanical cave temples in and around Vijayavāḍa, situated on the northern bank of the river Krishna in Āndhra Pradesh. There are two caves in Vijayavāḍa, five in the neighbouring village of Mogalrājapuram and five more in the village of Uṇḍavilli, situated about two miles away on the opposite bank of the river.[1]

THE CAVES OF VIJAYAVĀḌA

There is a long lozenge shaped hill at the western end of Vijayavāḍa near the barrage recently constructed. There are two sets of caves in the western slope of this hill which are of considerable importance. Of these, one is excavated at the foot of a projection of the hill and the other is about three hundred feet higher up and reached by a flight of steps.

Cave I: Longhurst has described this cave as a small two celled shrine each cell having a portico beofe it. He has noticed a frieze of swans over the doorways of the shrines and below the *kapōta* or cornice, the gable ornament on the *kapōta* and traces of figures of *dvārapālakas.* This short description is both incomplete and inaccurate. The cave contains not two cells but three. There is reason to presume that all the cells had a portico before them. There are many important architectural features which have escaped the attention of Longhurst.

This cave is rectangular on plan and consists of an open portico with eight pillars in the front with the *aṅkaṇa* or inter-columnal space covered by a low parapet ornamented with sculptures. Behind this there is a *mahāmanṭapa* and an *ardhamanṭapa*, constituted by two rows of pillars. The back wall of the *ardhamanṭapa* is in the shape of a concave curve and in the curved portion are excavated three cells at varying distances in the interior. These three shrines are separated from each other by two short walls projecting from the back wall of the *ardhamanṭapa*. The rock itself forms two walls at the southern and northern extremities.

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1. These monuments were examined by me in May, 1950:

There are four openings in the front part of the cave, two before the first shrine, one before the central shrine and one before the third shrine in the south. The low parapet which is in between these openings is in two sections. The outer side of this wall is sculptured all over. It seems to contain the figures of lions and standing deities. Further identification is not possible becuase the wall is much worne out.

Beyond the parapet is a row of seven pillars with corresponding pilasters in the northern and southern walls. Only the lower part of the lower *caturam* of these pillars is visible. It is probable that like the pillars of the row beyond, these pillars are also cubical pillars without base or capital. The roof above these pillars is gone and there is open space now above these pillars. Beyond these pillars there is another row constituting the intervening space into the *mahāmanṭapa*. In the northern wall of this *manṭapa* are four niches, three of them empty and one containing the figure of Gaṇapati. This deity has four hands and holds *mōdaka* in the lower right hand on which rests the tip of the trunk. In the next row are one pilaster in the southern wall and three pillars. The space between these pillars and the back wall constitutes the *ardhamanṭapa*, of the first shrine. There is a short projecting wall at right angles to the back wall. The rock wall to the south which is at right angles to the back wall containes a *kōṣṭa* or niche with the figure of a *dvārapālaka* inside it. This *dvārapālaka* wears a turban-like head dress with a horn protruding on either side of it. He stands in *tribhaṅga* leaning to the left. There is a big *gadā* between his legs and on its handle rest his two hands. Above him are three individuals seated in *padmāsana*. The short projecting wall on the north also contains a niche with a *dvārapālaka*, standing in *vytyastapāda* leaning to the right with his right hand resting on a *gadā* and the left in *kaṭihasta*. There are four sitting individuals above him.

The back wall contains the entrance of the shrine in the centre and a *makaratōraṇa* niche on either side of it. The portion beyond these niches is empty. Both the niches contain standing figures inside which are too worne out to be identified. Above these niches is a row of geese and above it the *kapōta* or cornice. There are three rafter ends above the *kapōta*. The wall beyond the *makaratōraṇa* niches also contains the row of geese and the *kapōta*. The shrine entrance contains two pilasters, one on each side. The upper beam is decorated with a row of geese. Above this row is the moulded *kapōta*. There is a row of lions above the *kapōta* of both the entrance and the side niches, four above each niche and six above the entrance, supporting the roof above.

The cell beyond the entrance contains a narrow *antarāla* and the *garbhagṛha*. There is a square hole in the centre of the *garbhagṛha* intended for locating a liṅga or an image.

The second shrine is separated by two short walls projecting from the back wall, from shrines Nos. 1 and 2. Each of these short walls has a niche containing a *dvārapālaka*. The *dvārapālaka* in the niche in the wall to the south stands leaning to the left, wears a

horned head dress and rests both his hands on a *gadā*. The *dvārapālaka* in the niche in the northern wall stands in *vytyastapāda* leaning to the right and rests his right hand on a *gadā* and presses his left hand against his stomache. The back wall contians the shrine entrance in the centre and a *makaratōraṇa* niche on either side of it. The niche to the south cantains the figure of a deity standing in *dvibhaṅga* leaning to the left with his left hand resting on the *kaṭi*. The niche on the opposite side contains the figure of a deity standing in *vytyastapāda* leaning to the right with his right hand resting on a *gadā* and the left preseed against the stomach. The entrance of the shrine is similar to that of shrine No. 1. The cell beyond contains an *antarāla* and *garbhagṛha* with a hole in the centre of the *garbhagṛha*. There are traces of *nāsikas* or gables on the *kapōta* of the shrine entrance.

The third shrine which is to the north is mostly ruined. It is farther in the interior. The entire rock above this shrine has fallen and disappeared. The shrine entrance is closed by a brick wall.

Annexe cell : There is a small single-celled shrine to the south of this cave temple reached by a short flight of steps. This is a plain cell with nothing worthy of notice.

Cave II : This cave, locally known as the Akkanna-Madanna cave, is situated about three hundred yards higher up and reached by a flight of steps. It is 48′ 4″ long and 29′ 4″ broad and consists of an *adhiṣṭāna*, a flight of steps in its centre, three rows of six pillars each with corresponding pilasters forming an open verandah, *mahāmanṭapa* and *ardha-manṭapa* and the back wall with three cells excavated into it.

The cave stands on an *adhiṣṭāna* which consists of *upāna*, *gaḷa*, *jagatī* or moulding, *paṭṭa*, another *gaḷa* and a plain *kapōta*. The flight of steps in its centre has a moon stone before it.

Among the pillars above the *adhiṣṭāna* the stumps of three pillars to the right of the steps and three to the left are seen. They seem to have been cubical pillars without base or capital. Like the pilasters at either end, they too must have had an octagonal shaft in between two massive rectangular portions. The pillars of the next two rows are octagonal throughout and have no base or capital.

The back wall contains three shrines with entrances projecting forward. The wall beyond these entrances is empty. The entrance of each of the three shrines is on a low *vēdi* and flanked by an empty niche on either side. The entrance is surmounted by a *kapōta*, plain and undecorated. Above this *kapōta* are four beam heads and over them a *paṭṭa* supporting the roof.

There is a fine animal frieze on the beam between the last octagonal pillar in the north and the pilaster next to it in the first row. This frieze contains the figures of a lion unning, and an elephant walking with the trunk hanging.

THE CAVES OF MOGALRĀJAPURAM

The village of Mogalrajapuram is now almost a part of the growing town of Vijayavada. There are several hills round this village some of which are now being quarried for stone. These hills contain five caves which are of great architectural vlaue.

Cave 1: This cave is nearest the town of Vijayavada and excavated in the eastern face of a hill and faces the east. It is 21'4" long and 20'4" broad and 8' high.

It consists of two rock walls in the north and south with open space between them. These walls do not have any *kōṣṭas* or niches. Beyond this open space there is a *maṇṭapa* of three rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters in the northern and southern walls. It has a plain *adhiṣṭāna* below. The back wall of the *maṇṭapa* has a projecting part containing an entrance in the centre with a *kōṣṭa* on each side, Beyond the entrance is a shrine, 6' long and 3' broad.

The facade of the cave consists of a broad flat *paṭṭa* or band above the pillars in the front row. Above this band is a row of dwarfs in various poses. There is no *kapōta* or cornice above this row of dwarfs.

The pilasters and pillars are cubical with an octagonal shaft in the centre and a curved bracket capital above. The pilaster in the front on the southern side contains at its base a *Pūrṇakuṁbha* adorned with a cross ribbon. There is a horizontal beam above the pillars of the front row. On the northern part of this beam between the pillar and pilaster is a row of dwarfs in various poses and also a row of geese.

The back wall of the *maṇṭapa* contains empty space at the extremities and a projecting portion in the centre. There is an entrance in its centre flanked by two *kōṣṭas*, one on each side. Each *kōṣṭa* has two pilasters containing in the upper half the *kalāsa*, *taḍi*, *padma*, *iḍai* and *phalaka*, and a capital with the *taraṅga* or roll ornament on the underside. The northern *kōṣṭa* contains a peculiar *dvārapālaka* figure. This *dvārapālaka* stands leanlng to the left holding a long sword or spear in his right hand and resting the left hand on a shield. He is in the *vytsyastapāda* pose.

The entrance in between the *kōṣṭas* is reached by a short flight of steps with a moon stone before it. The upper beam is decorated with a row of lotus petals. There is a *kapōta* surmounting the entrance and both the *kōṣṭas* on its sides. It contains one *nāsika* or gable over each *kōṣṭa* and two above the entrance. All the *nāsikas* contain human heads inside. Above the *kapōta* are three rafter ends. The *garbhagṛha* contains part of a *vēdi*.

Cave II: This is the largest and most beautiful of all thc caves in this place. It is excavated on the northern side of a hill and faces the north.

This cave consisets of open space in the front enclosed by rock walls in the east and west with two *kōṣṭas* or niches in the west wall. Beyond is a *maṇṭapa* 31' 4" long, 15' 3" broad and 8' high. It contains, in the front, two pillars and two short projections of the

rock on either side dividing the front into three openings. Beyond these pillars is another row of four pillars with corresponding pilasters in the north and south walls. Beyond is the back wall into which three shrines, each about 6′, have been excavated.

The *adhiṣṭāna* of the cave contains *upāna*, *gaḷa*, *tripaṭṭa*, another *gaḷa* divided into compartments by short pilasters and a moulded *kapōta* or cornice. Of the four niches in the east wall enclosing the open space, one contains the figure of Gaṇapati. This deity is seated with his left leg folded and resting on the seat and the right bent at the knee and upraised. He has the head of a real elephant and only two hands. The palm of the right hand rests on the right knee and the trunk rests on it. The left hand holds *danta*.

The facade of the cave is beautiful. The two rock walls, one on each side of the pillars in the front row, contain figures of *dvārapālakas* in niches or *kōṣṭas*. The *dvārapālaka* on the eastern wall stands leaning to the left with his left hand resting on the tip of a *gadā* and the right resting on the *kaṭi* or waiste. He wears a horned headdress. A long snake starts on his right hand, and stretches across the chest and its hood emerges out of the left shoulder. The *dvārapāla* on the western wall stands leaning to the right with his right hand resting on a *gadā* and the left resting on the stomach. At the end of each of these two short walls there are pilasters. Between these pilasters are two massive pillars with octagonal shafts in the centre and curved bracket capitals above whose underside is adorned with the *taraṅga* or roll ornament with a plain band or *paṭṭa* in the centre. Above the pillars the *prastara* is plain. Above the *prastara* is a moulded *kapōta* adorned with three *nāsikas* or gables surmounted by *siṁhalalāṭas*. Each of these gables has a lotus scroll on either side at the bottom. These gables are located above the openings below. The *nāsika* on the east contains three heads, representing Brahma; the central and western *nāsikas* contain two heads each representing Śiva and Viṣṇu with their consorts. Above the *kapōta* there is a broad band containing a row of animals, five lions with tails curled above, one elephant and one bull all in vigorous poses. Above this animal frieze is a fine figure of Śiva as Naṭarāja with the portion below the waiste broken. This deity is represented as dancing on the prostrate body of the *apsmārapuruṣa*. He has eight hands.

There are a few sculptures on the pillars and pilasters of this cave temple. There is fine representation of Śiva dancing on the pilaster adjacent to the rock wall on the east. Standing with his legs apart, this deity has two hands, the right stretched to the right side in *karihasta* and the left bent at the elbow and placed on the left side of the chest adjacent to the arm pit. Jaṭas emanate from the head alround. There is a representation of *Gajēndramōkṣa* on the first pillar in the front row to the east. To the left is the elephant yelling out, with its trunk upraised and the *makara* catching its right hind leg. To the right is Viṣṇu flying on Garuḍa, with two hands, one resting on the head of the elephant and the other upraised in *vismaya*. On the south face of the second pillar of the front row there is

sculpture showing *Pūtanā* suckling Kṛṣṇa. There is a worne out female figure on the west wall at right angles to the back wall of the *manṭapa* to the west.

In the back wall of the *manṭapa* are excavated three shrines each with a projecting entrance. Each entrance is on a raised base on which are two pilasters with the entrance between them. The entrance of the central shrine and the *vēdi* below project a foot further. All the three entrances are surmounted by *kapōta*, or cornices which are plain. There are two rafter ends above the *kapōtas* of the side shrines and four above the *kapōta* of the central shrine.

Cave III: This is a simple and plain cave temple situated about a hundred yards higher than the road level and reached by a flight of rude steps cut on the side of the hill.

This cave consists of two crude pillars without base or capital in the front with short walls on either side. The *manṭapa* beyond is 18'3" long, and 19'9" broad. There is a single cell in the back wall of the *manṭapa* 7'7" long and 7'4" broad.

The facade of the cave consists of a narrow flat *paṭṭa* or band above the two pillars. There is no *kapōta* above.

Cave IV: This is a small single-celled cave facing the south and dedicated to Durgā. It consists of two rock walls in the east and west in the front and two pillars beyond with correspounding pilasters. The *manṭapa* beyond is 15' long and 12' 9" broad. There is a cell 6' square in the wall.

The pillars are plain and cubical with octagonal shafts in the centre and with no base or capital. Above these pillars are two plain *paṭṭas* or bands. These are surmounted by a moulded *kapōta* or cornice adorned with three empty *nāsikas* or gables with spade-head tops. Above the *kapōta* are two bands with four rafter ends between them.

The entrance of the cell is reaehed by a short flight of steps with a moon stone before it. The wall on either side of the entrance is plain. The bach wall of the cell contnins a shallow niche in which there is a half relief figure of Durgā sculptured. This deity stands facing the right with her right foot resting on a small stool and the left stiff and resting on the ground. She has four hands, the upper right holding *triśūla*, the lower right resting on the bent knee and the lower left in *kaṭihasta*. The upper left hand is worne out. There is a low rectangular platform below this niche.

There are two niches to the west of this cave of which one is empty and the other contains the standing figure of *Viṣṇu* with four arms. There are five niches in the east wall. These contain the sculptured figures of Śiva with four hands dancing on the prostrate body of the *apasmārapuruṣa*, Brahma with three heads and four hands holding *kamanḍalu*, *akṣamālā* and *pustaka*, another standing figure, a representation of Viṣṇu standing with *śaṁkha* and *cakra* in the two upper hands, *gadā* in one lower hand and the other lower hand in *kaṭihasta*, and a figure of Gaṇapati with the head of a real elephant.

Cave V: This is a triple cell-cave facing the north. It has two short projecting walls on the east and west, and two cubical pillars without bases or capitals with short projection rock walls on the sides forming three openings. The *manṭapa* beyond is 26′6″ long and 5′6″ broad. There are three cells in the back wall each 7′6″ square. The entrances of these shrines are level with the wall and do not project. The facade above the pillars has a low *kapōta* or cornice without any decoration. Above it is a row of swans.

THE CAVES OF UṆḌAVILLI

There is a big four storeyed cave in this village noticed by previous writers and four more smaller cave temples not described so far.

Cave I: This is the main or four storeyed cave popularly known as the temple of *Anantaśāyī*.

The ground floor of the cave is irregularly excavated and incomplete. Its ground level is varying and not uniform. It has a *manṭapa* of three rows of six pillars each and one pilaster at either end. There are seven openings between these pillars which are all cubical and without base or capital. The facade has a low flat *kapōta* or cornice containing an inscription in Telugu characters of the ninth century.

The first storey is in four sections from south to north and reached by a short flight of steps cut in the rock at the right end of the ground floor. At the top of this flight of steps to the left there is a rectangualr niche in the rock wall and above it the rail ornament in three sections. Above is a frieze of two lions and one elephant in vigorous poses. The first section is opposite the flight of steps. It has in the front an open space between two rock walls on the north and south. There is a niche in the north wall adorned with the rail ornament. On the south wall opposite there are two long inscriptions. Beyond the open space is a low *adhistāna* with a flight of steps in the centre. Beyond these steps is a *manṭapa* of two rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters. These are cubical pillars with an octagonal shaft in the middle. They have simple curved bracket capitals. The back wall of the *manṭapa* contains the entrance of a cell with a *Kōṣṭa* or niche on either side. Each niche has two pilasters and a *makaratōraṇa* above. There is a distended *makaratōrana* above the entrance. The beam above the pillars of the front row contains a row of swans with their wings open. Above is the moulded *kapōta* decorated with three *nāsikas* or gables with a spade head top. Above the *kapōta* are seven figures which are too worne out to be identified. Above these figures is an ornament in three sections containing three horizontal rows of rafter ends with two beam-heads between them.

The second section is to the north of section I and reached through an opening in the north wall. It consists of a *manṭapa* with four rows of four pillars each with the corresponding pilasters in the northern and southern walls. All the pillars are cubical and contain

(4)

the *taranga* or roll ornament on the underside. At the base of the second pilaster to the south there is the figure of a woman standing with the right leg bent and the right hand resting on the right thigh and the left hand held up in *vismaya*. Five pillars and two pilasters in this section contain the full lotus medallion on the rectangular block at the top.

The third section is to the further north and reached from section II through an opening in the northern wall. It contains a *mantapa* of two rows of two pillars each with four corresponding pilasters in the walls. All these pillars and pilasters have on their underside the *taranga* or roll ornament with a *paṭṭa* or fillet in the centre. Two pillars contain the lotus medallion.

The fourth section is in the extreme north and at a lower level. It consists of a *mantapa* of two rows of two pillars each and two corresponding pilasters in the walls. These pillars and pilasters are like those in section III. There is an empty cell excavated in the back wall of this *mantapa*. There is an empty niche in the back wall of this cell with a low *vēdi* before it. One pilaster contains the lotus medallion and two contain the figures of swans. There is a niche in the south wall at right angles to the back wall of the *mantapa* with a sculpture representing a male being seated with the right leg bent and resting on the seat and the left hanging. The left hand is on the left thigh and the right is bent at the elbow and upraised. There is a woman to the right and two to the left. A boy stands below before a *Purṇakalaśa*. On the rock wall to the south there is a fine miniature temple of the *Nāgara* order.

The second storey consists of a pillared *mantapa* and an open portico before it. This *mantapa* contains six pillars and a pilaster in the south wall in the front row, a short rock wall projecting behind the first pillar in this row, six pillars and a pilaster in the north wall in the second and third rows and five pillars and a pilaster in the north wall in the fourth row. To the north of these rows of pillars there is a huge figure of Viṣṇu-Anantaśāyī. There are three niches in the south wall. The outer or eastern side of the short projecting wall behind the first pillar of the first row contains the figure of a *dvārapālaka* standing, leaning to the left with the right hand in *kaṭihasta* and the left resting on a *gadā*. A snake starts on his right hand, runs across the chest and emerges above the left shoulder. At the end of the south wall there is a fine niche of two pilasters with a flat *kapōta* above them and a solid *nāsika* or gable surmounting all with a lotus scroll on either side at the bottom. On the beams above the front and second rows of pillars towards the northern end there are two rows of dwarfs opposite each other. The pillars in the front row are surmounted by a *kapōta* decorated with ten *Nāsikas* each with a spade-head top and a human head inside. Above the *kapōta* is the series-*kūṭa*, *śālā*, *kūṭa*, *śālā*, *kūṭa*, *śālā*, and *kūṭa*. All the pillars of the *mantapa* are cubical and contain on the underside the *taranga* or roll ornament with a *paṭṭa* or fillet in the middle. They are

adorned with many sculptures viz., a bearded sage, man playing *mṛdanga*, chauri bearers, Gajēndramōkṣa, lions, elephants, Viṣṇu, Varāha with Pṛthvī, Narasiṃha, Vāmana and Bali, Trivikrama, and Sītā under the *aśōka*, tree. The open portico before the *mantapa* contains on its eastem edge the figures of three bearded sages and two lions. The large image of Anaṅtaśāyī found at the northern extremity of the *manṭapa* is hewn out of the rock. It represents Viṣṇu as lying on the seven coiled body of *Śēṣa* with the hoods spread above his head. The deity keeps the right hand folded at the elbow under the head and holds up the left hand also bent at the elbow in *vismaya*. There is a man at the feet of the god sitting on his knees and keeping his hands in *aṅjali*. Beyond the feet of the god are the two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha. On the wall are to be found the figures of Brahma with four hands seated in *padmāsana* on a lotus and of four other flying gods keeping their right hands in *vismaya*. On the back wall of the *manṭapa* are the figures of the Vaiṣṇava *ālvars* and a fine figure of Viṣṇu seated in *padmāsana* on Śēṣa. He holds *saṁkha* and *cakra* in the two upper hands and keeps the lower hands in *abhaya* and *varada*.

The third storey contains a narrow open space and a wall to its west decorated with ten pilasters. Two simple plain cells are excavated into this wall.

Cave II: This cave temple is to the south of the main cave. It contains two plain empty cells and a frieze of two lions and two elephants above it. There are two niches above this frieze, and one of them contains the figure of Viṣṇu holding *śaṁkha* and *cakra* in the two upper hands, *gadā* in one lower hand and keeping the other in *kaṭihasta*.

Cave III: This cave is to the south of cave No. II. It contains a single celled shrine. There is open space in the front, enclosed by two rock walls on the two sides, a *manṭapa* on a low *adhiṣṭāna* containing two rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters in the walls and two niches in the walls between the pilasters. The back wall of the *manṭapa* contains a central entrance with a *kōṣṭa* on either side. There is a moulded *kapōta* above the pillars in the facade decorated with three *nāsikas*, one containing three heads, and another containing two. The heads in the third are worn out. The pillars are cubical and without base or capital.

The *kōṣṭas* in the back wall are adorned with a *makaratōraṇa* with dwarfs seated on the necks of the *makaras*. There is a lotus bud above the *tōraṇa* in the centre. Inside the *kōṣṭa* are the figures of *dvārapālakas* standing in *samabhaṅga* with the right hand resting on the right hip and the left resting on a *gadā*. The pilasters of the *kōṣṭas* are fully developed and contain the *kalasa*, *taḍi*, *padma*, *iḍai* and *palaka*. There is a *makaratōraṇa* above the entrance also and two human heads, one on either side of its central projection.

Cave IV: This cave is situated to the north of the main cave and reached by a narrow pathway cut in the hill side. It consists of open space in the front enclosed by rock walls on the sides, a low *adhiṣṭāna*, a *manṭapa* with two rows of two pillars each with

corresponding pilasters in the walls and the back wall containing a shrine entrance with a *kōṣṭa* on either side.

All the four pillars are cubical and have curved bracket capitals. The two pillars and pilasters in the front contain sculptures which are much worn out. There is the lotus medallion on two pilasters in the interior.

The *kōṣṭas* in the back wall have distended *makaratōraṇas* above them extending to the sides and not hanging below. The *kōṣṭa* on the south contains the figure of a woman standing with her right hand upraised and the left kept in *kaṭihasta*. To her left is another woman carrying a basket on her head.

Cave V : This cave is also on the same hill but just behind the village. Its front has fallen and it is now occupied by an *Erukala* family.

This cave has in the front a wide open space enclosed by rock walls on the sides each with an empty niche. Beyond is a low *adhiṣṭana* on which there is a *manṭapa* containing two rows of two pillars each with corresponding pilasters in the walls. Beyond is the back wall with three shrines excavated into it. The pillars are cubical and have curved bracket capitals. In the northern part of the back wall there is a fine shrine with its entrance spanned by a *makaratōraṇa* whose plume like part hangs below. The upper beam is decorated with row of geese. The architrave above the *makaratōraṇa* is adorned with lotus petals. The moulded *kapōta* above contains at the ends *nāsikas* with human heads inside. There is an elephant at each end above the *kapōta* supporting the roof. The shrine to the south has a *kōṣṭa* on either side of the entrance containing the figures of *dvārapālakas*, with a snake emerging above the left shoulder. Above the *kapōta* of this shrine there is a row of two lions and two elephants supporting the roof.

Miniature shrines : These shrines are carved on the rock to the farther north of cave no. III. Two of them contain a linga on *vēdi* inside. One is on an *adhiṣṭāna* having *upāna, tripaṭṭa* another *paṭṭa, gaḷa* cut into compartments by short pilasters, and a flat *kapōta* above all. One shrine has a single pilaster on the sides of the entrance while the others have double pilasters. Above the pilasters there is a moulded *kapōta* without any decorations. Above this is a narrow *paṭṭa* or band with four rafter ends above. Then there is a wide *paṭṭa* and two narrow bands above. Above these bands there is the *gaḷa* cut into compartments by four pilasters. One shrine has a plain *Nāgara śikhara* and stone *kalaśa* above, The *śikharas* of the other shrines are decorated with a *nāsika* or gable with spade-head top. Inside the *nāsika* are two pilasters with a beam head between them. These shrines are *alpa-prāsādas* of the *ēkatala* type and *Nāgara* order.

The date and authorship of these caves are matters of dispute. Longhurst held that all these are Pallava caves and ascribed them to the reign of Pallava Mahēndravarman I

(600–630 A.D.)[1]. It is true that this Pallava king ruled over the Guntūr district for some time and made gifts to the Kapōtēśvara temple of Chēzerla[2] but there is no evidence to show that his territory extended beyond the Krishna in the north. Further, it is well known that he was a Jaina in the early part of his life and that he was converted to Śaivism later by saint Appār in South India[3]. It is equally well known that the famous Early Cāḷukyan king, Pulakēśin II, invaded the east coast, defeated and drove away pallava Mahēndravarman from the Guntur–Nellore region and forced him to confine his rule to the south. The combined evidence of the Kopparam plates[4] and the Māruṭuru grant[5], recently brought to light, prove beyond doubt that Pulakēśin's conquest of the east coast was an accomplished fact by 616 A.D. It is thus obvious that Mahēndravarman, who ruled over the Guntur region up to 616 A.D., was a Jaina and could not, therefore, have ordered the excavation of the Vijayavāḍa group of cave temples, which are dedicated to Brāhmanical deities. Longhurst's view thus becomes untenable.

One writer has suggested recently that these caves might have been excavated under the patronage of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, about 700 A.D. The main basis of this theory is the similarity between the Uṇḍavilli and Akkanna - Mādanna caves of Vijayavāḍa on the one hand and the caves of Aḍavi sōmpalli in the Karimnagar district and the Bhōkardān caves in the Aurangabad district on the other. It is stated, that the first two caves and the last cave mentioned above, contain the label *Utpattipiḍugu*, indicating the common authorship of both[6]. Both the Karimnagar and Aurangabad districts were once under the rule of the Early Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi. Their cousins, the Eastern Cāḷukyas, established themselves in power in the coastal districts about the first quarter of the seventh century A. D. It is argued on the basis of these facts that the Eastern Cāḷukyas got the Vijayavāḍa group of caves excavated in imitation of the Aḍavisōmpalli and Bhōkardān caves excavated by their cousins of the Bādāmi branch. Improving upon this position, one writer argues[7] that since the Eastern Cāḷukyas were Vaiṣṇavas, they got the famous Vaiṣṇava of Uṇḍavilli excavated and that since the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were Śaivas, they got the Mogalrāja-puram group of caves excavated. This theory is equally weak. There is nothing in the label *utpattipiḍugu* which is particularly indicative of Early or Eastern Cāḷukyan connection. Secondly, it is possible that the label was added later and not necessarily at the time of the excavation of thec aves. The characters of this label are round and box-headed like the characters in which the Viṣṇukuṇḍin grants are engraved. Further, the find of a large number

1. *Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind.* No. 17, pp. 22—30
2. *SII* Vol. VI., No.
3. Gopalan— *The Pallavas*, p. 90
4.
5. *C. P. inscriptions in the A. P. Government Museum*, Sec. I., Ch. II.
6. *Indian Archaeology* 1950.60, p. 83 ff.
7. Subrahmanayam-*Tuṇḍi plates of Vishnukuṇḍin Vikramendravarman* pp. 41-42

of Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins, described in this catalogue and Mādhavavarman's invasion of Tivaranagara show that the Karimnagar district was included in the dominions of the Viṣṇukundins for some time. The similarity between the Aḍavisōmpalli caves in this district and the caves of Uṇḍavilli and Vijayavāḍa would only indicate the common Viṣṇukuṇḍin authorship of both groups of caves. Further, there are other powerful arguments, as will be mentioned below, to show that the cave temples in the lower Krishna region were excavated during the period of Viṣṇukuṇḍin rule. There is no justification for the view that because the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were Śaivas they could not have excavated the Vaiṣṇava cave of Uṇḍavilli. It is true that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were devotees of the Lord of Śrīparvata but their personal names like Gōvindavarman, Mādhavavarman and Indravarman are not Śaivite.

According to several writers [1] the Vijayavāḍa group of caves are of Viṣṇukuṇḍin origin. The main argument in favour of this theory rests on two facts, viz. a number of copper coins found in the coastal districts containing the lion on one side and a vase on the other are attributed to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and that there is the figure of a vase or *pūrṇakalaśa* in one of the caves of Mogalrājapuram and of a lion in the *Anantaśāyi* cave of Uṇḍavilli. It is now possible to add other and more convincing arguments in favour of this theory of Viṣṇukuṇḍin origin of the Vijayavāḍa group of cave temples. A careful examination of the seals of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin grants throws welcome light on this problem. According to Hultzch, the seal of the Īpur I plates [2] contains, in the upper half and above a horizontal line, the figure of Lakṣmī seated on a pedastal, flanked by a lamp stand on each side and surmounted by the sun and the crescent moon. According to a recent writer, this figure is that of a double trident flanked by a lamp stand on each side. The reverse side of the coins of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins contains a *kalaśa* in the centre with two bars and a pellet above suggestive of the sun and the crescent moon, flanked by a lamp stand on each side. The seal of the Rāmatīrtham plates [3] contains the figure of a lion with mouth open, tail looped above the body and the left forepaw raised. The lion found on the obverse side of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins is similar. This lion also resembles the animal found sculptured at the bottom of two pillars in the second storey of the main cave at Uṇḍavilli. A fine *pūrṇaghaṭa* is found at the base of one of the pillars in a cave at Mogalrājapuram. It is thus clear that the c.p. grants containing the figure of the lion on the seal, the coins containg the figures of the lion and *kalaśa* and the caves containg the figures of the lion and the *pūrṇaghaṭa* belong to one and the same family of rulers i.e. the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. A few architectural parallels support this conjecture. The double fish symbol is a well-known Pāṇḍyan emblem. This symbol figures on gōpuras which are known from other sources to have been built by the pāṇḍyas or

1. Sarma-*Vijñānasarvasvamu* p. 119; Sivaramamurti-*Early Eastern Cāḷukyan sculptures*, p. 26.
2. *E. I.* XVII, pp. 334–337.
3. *Ibid* XI, pp. 133–136.

their subordinates. The innermost gōpura of the famous Gōvindarājasvāmi temple at Tirupati, is an instance to the point. If a double fish symbol could signify the Pāṇḍyan origin of a monument, there is no reason why the figure of a lion with tail looped above and one forepaw raised found on the coins and c.p. grants of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and also in the cave temples of the Vijayavada group should not signify the Vissṇukuṇḍin origin of these monuments. Then there is another piece of equally important evidence which clinches the whole issue. The Mushiṇikuṇḍa grant of the Eastern Cāḷukyan king, Viṣṇuvardhana III, records the gifts of the village of that name to a Jaina temple at Vijayavāḍa by Āryāmahādēvi, the queen of Viṣṇuvardhana I (624–642A.D.) The grant was executed by the queen herself and the seal bears the well known epithet, *Viṣamasidhi*, borne by Viṣṇuvardhana[1]. It has been rightly held that this is a copy of an earlier grant made in the time of Viṣṇuvardhana I[2]. Among the boundaries of the village gifted mention is made of *layaṇam* or a cave which obviously refers to one of the cave temples in Mogalrājapuram. This shows beyond doubt that the caves were in existence for some time before the foundation of Eastern Cāḷukyan rule and that they were familiarly known by that time. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins preceded the Eastern Cāḷukyas as rulers in this region. These caves must therefore be ascribed without the semblance of doubt to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

One writer has recently suggested a novel theory postulating a southward flow of Vākāṭaka architectural traditions from Ajanta to the lower Krishna valley due mostly to the intimate dynastic relationship between the Vākāṭakas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins[3]. There were numerous temples in coastal Āndhradēśa like the *Kulimahātāraka* temple of Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa at Dalura, the temple of Viṣṇuhara at Kandukuru[4] and the temple of *Sōmagirīśvaranātha*[5]. The excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have brought to light the temples of Kumāra, Aṣṭabhuja Viṣṇu and Siva as Puṣpa-Chandrasvāmin. These temples might as well have inspired the architects of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin period and they need not have gone to distant Ajanta for inspiration. Most of the architectural features found in these cave temples can be traced to the architecture of the Sātavāhana period or its representations in the sculptures of the period. Massive cubical pillars without base or capital and with octagonal shafts in the middle are to be found in the Buddhist caves of Śaṁkaram and Guṇṭupalli in coastal Āndhradēśa. Many lime stone pillars of this type have been found at Amarāvati, Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Buddhāṁ. Full and half lotus medallions are found on the pillars of the railing of the mahācaitya of Amarāvati. Animal friezes are found on the *aṇḍa* or dome of the mahācaityas of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and at the base of the half lotus medallions

1. c. p. 9 of *MER* 1916–17.
2. *MER* 1917 para 21.
3. *Early Eastern Cal. Sculp.*, pp. 10–22.
4. *E. I.* IV, pp. 193-198 and VIII, pp. 143-146.
5. *Ibid* IV pp. 193-198.

on pillars. The *pūrṇakalaśa* as a decorative devise was widely employed by the architects of the Sātavāhana period[1]. The niche or *kōṣṭa* with a flat *paṭṭa* above, adorned with *nāsikas* surmounted by *triratna* symbol, found among the sculptures from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[2] seems to be the prototype of the *kōṣṭa* decorated with *kapōta* and *nāsikas* on it found on either side of the shrine entrance of the Vijayavāḍa group of cave temples. A sculptured slab from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa with four pilasters having a *kapōta* above with a *nāsika* over each pilaster below forming three openings is suggestive of the facade of the cave temples[3]. One Nāgārjunakoṇḍa sculpture[4] of a *maṇṭapa* of four pillars with a moulded *kapōta* above and a flat *paṭṭa* above it is just similar to the upper part of the facade of some of the cave temples. Some of the pilasters in these cave temples which are fully developed and which contain the *kalaśa, taḍi, padma, iḍai* and *palaka* are similar to pilasters found on the Vertical edges of the frames of some of the sculptures obtained from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[5]. Sculptures from Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa contain many buildings which resemble the *kūṭa* and the *śāla* found on the facade of the main cave at Uṇḍavilli, many of the Pallava caves at Bhairavakoṇḍa and in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. The member found on the top of some of the gables on the *kapōta* of some of the cave temples resembles the *triratna* symbol found in a row above the line of running lions at the base of the *aṇḍa* of the mahācaityas of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[6]. The frieze of dwarfs found on the beams of some of these cave temples, sometimes carrying a garland, is found on the mahācaitya of Amarāvati[7]. The low parapet before cave I at Vijayavāḍa with ornamental decorations resembles the parapet found in the Buddhist caves of Kaṅhēri, Nāsik and Ambville. The vehicle in which the Bōdhisatva is shown as descending to the earth[8] is suggestive of the *śāla* which figures above the *kapōta* of some of the caves of the Vijayavāḍa group. A member containing the adhiṣṭāna, railing and a bellshaped top with a surmounting *kalaśa* found in one of the Amarāvati sculptures, is suggestive of the *kūṭa* found alternating with the *śāla* above the *kapōta* in the facade of some of the cave temples. The *puṇyaśāla* from Jaggayyapēṭa with a compartment on either side of the entrance is suggestive of the shrine entrance in the cave temples with a *kōṣṭa* on either side. The upper part of a building with a big gable in its centre suggests the *śālā* decorated with a *nāsikā* in the series–*kūṭa, śālā, kūṭa.* Vṛkṣacaitya of Amarāvati, a multi-storyed building, with its front decorated with *nāsikas* is suggestive of the *kapōta* adorned with *nāsikas* in the cave temples. The rafter ends which figure above

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1. *Mem. Arch. Sur. Ind.* No. 54, pl. XXI c.
2. *Ibid* pl. XXII b.
3. *Ibid* pl. XXXIVa, XL a and XLI a.
4. *Ibid* pl. XLVI a.
5. *Ibid* Pl. IX, XIX b and XXI a.
6. *Ibid* Pl. NIX c, XIV c and XLIII a.
7. *Ibid* Pl. XIV a.
8. *Ibid* Pl. XIX d.

and below the *kapōta* in the cave temples are used frequently in the caves of the Sātavāhana period. One of the caves at Bhāja has, on either side of the entrance of a cell, the figures of Indra and other gods and this is suggestive of the later day practice of locating *dvārapālakas* on either side of the entrances of both the facade and the *garbhagṛha* in the cave temples. Cave No. 20 of Bhāja has, in its back wall, two cells guarded by *dvārapālas*. At Guṇṭupalli are to be found a main entrance surmounted by a big gable and dummy entrances on the sides, also surmounted by similar gables, suggestive of the entrance with *kōṣṭas* on the sides surmounted by *kapōtas* adorned with gables found in the cave temples. Above the entrance of cave No. 3 at Nāsik the beam is extended on either side and worked into a curved projection which resembles the distended *tōraṇa* found in the main cave at Uṇḍavilli.

These cave monuments of the Vijayavāḍa group influenced considerably the architecture of the Pallavas and the Eastern Cāḷukyas. One distinguishing feature of the early phase of the Mahēndra style is the ornamentation of the cave facade with the *kapōta* containing *nāsikas*. Caves of this description are found at Vijayavāḍa, Mogalrājapuram and Uṇḍavilli. Most of the southern caves of this phase contain pillars and pilasters decorated with the lotus medallion and this feature is found in one cave at Mogalrājapuram and two caves at Uṇḍavilli. Another feature is the *taraṅga* with *paṭṭa* on the underside of the pillar capital which is common to the southern caves and one cave in Uṇḍavilli and one in Mogalrājapuram. The *dvārapālaka* figures found on either side in the cave facade at Dalavanur, Tiruchirapalli and other places in the south, are found in one cave at Mogalrājapuram. The *kōṣṭa* adorned with the *makaratōraṇa* is found in the Dalavanūr cave and many caves of the Vijayavāḍa group. Further, certain features which characterise the caves of the second phase of the Mahēndra style and the caves of the Māmalla style are common also to the caves of the Vijayavāḍa group. The Durgā temple of the *Koṭikal-maṇṭapam* is suggestive of the Durgā temple of Mogalrājapuram. The projecting shrine entrances surmounted by *kapōta* found in the second phase of the Mahēndra style are found in the caves of Mogalrājapuram and Uṇḍavilli. Like the caves of the Māmalla style, the second storey of Uṇḍavilli cave has a facade decorated with a row of *kuṭas* and *śōlas*. Like the Mahiṣamardanī cave of the south, the shrine in cave no. I at Vijayavāḍa contain a portico before.

Some architectural features of this group of cave temples are to be seen in the monuments of the Eastern Cāḷukyan period, found at Bikkavōlu and Chēbrōlu. The *makaratōraṇa* niches and entrances adorned with the *kapōta* above are an instance to the point. The row of geese and dwarfs is also common.

III COINS

I examined, in May, 1961, a collection of 868 Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins preserved in the cabinets of the Āndhra Pradesh Government Museum at Hyderabad. Of these, 787 were obtained from Tangutūr in the Bhōngīr taluk of the Nalgoṇḍa district and 77 from Tālkuṇṭa in the Sultanābād taluk of the Karīmnagar district. Four were purchased. All the coins are of copper and round in shape. I have selected 170 coins of this collection and described them in the sub-joined Catalogue.

These coins contain a lion inside a circle on the obverse and a vase or *kalaśa* flanked by a lamp stand on either side inside a rayed circle on the reverse. Two coins of this description have been included in Elliott's *Coins of South India*[1]. I have seen a few such coins in the Āndhra Sāhitya Parishad at Kakinada and in the museum of the Āndhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry. There are three coins in my own collection, obtained along with a few Sātavāhana coins from a mound at Dharaṇikōṭa, near Amarāvati in the Sattenapalli taluk of the Guntūr district. The coins under review constitute the biggest collection, so far known, of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins and their value is enhanced on account of their find spots being definitely known.

These coins may be divided into the following obverse varieities :

1. Well decorated lion facing left with the double *Ya* symbol and crescent above and with the left forepaw raised.
2. Animal as above with mouth open.
3. Animal as above sparsely decorated.
4. Animal as in no. 2 with symbols before the mouth.
5. Animal facing left with mouth open, tail curled above, left forepaw raised and double *Ya* symbol above.
6. Animal facing left with mouth open, tail uplifted and left forepaw raised.
7. Animal as above with crescent above and double *Ya* symbol before the mouth.
8. Animal facing left with mouth open, tail uplifted, left forepaw raised and double *Ya* symbol before the mouth.
9. Animal as above with a symbol before the legs.
10. Big bold animal facing left with mouth open, double *Ya* symbol before the mouth, tail uplifted, left forepaw raised and symbols before the legs.

1. Pl. II. Nos. 49 and 50.

11. Animal as above with crescent above.
12. Animal as above with symbols before and between the legs.

The following reverse varieties are seen on these coins :

1. Vase in one pellet with two straight horizontal lines and a pellet above.
2. Vase as above with two bent lines and one pellet above.
3. Vase as in No. 1 formed of one pellet.
4. Vase as in No. 2 formed of two pellets.
5. Vase like
6. Vase like
7. Vase like
8. Vase like
9. Vase like
10. Vase like
11. Vase like
12. Vase like

The most curious feature of the symbol on the reverse side is that starting as a vase or *kalaśa* on two slender legs with two lines and a pellet above, and with a lamp stand on either side, all inside a rayed circle, it culminates in a well formed *śaṁkha* passing through several intermediate forms.

Elliot attributed the coins of this type to the Pallavas. This attribution is both untenable and wrong. The seals of the Pallava c. p. grants bear the figure of the Nandi and not the lion. A few coins recently described as having the Nandi on the obverse and the double *Ya* symbol on the reverse and wrongly attributed to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins seem to be the coins of the Pallavas and not coins of the type of those under review[1]. Further copper coins having the lion on the obverse with the mouth open and the left forepaw raised and the double *Ya* symbol flanked by a lamp stand on each side, all in a rayed circle

1. *Tundi plates* pp. 47-48 and Pl. V.

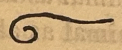
on the reverse, were obtained from a village in the Viśākhapaṭnam district.[1] I have two such coins in my collection obtained from Amarāvati in the Guntūr district. Recently, I examined a collection of over 14,000 coins of this description obtained from the Nalgoṇḍa district and now under my study. These coins contain, on the obverse, the legend *Viṣama-siddhi,* in characters of the early seventh century. *Viṣamasiddhi* is the title borne by Viṣṇuvardhana I, the founder of the Eastern Cāḷukyan dynasty and all these coins must therefore be attributed to him. The lion on these Cāḷukyan coins resembles the lion found on the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins described in this catalogue. The double *Ya* symbol which appears either above or before the animal on the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins appears as the main symbol on the reverse side of the Cāḷukyan coins[2]. These important similarities indicate a close affinity in time between the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Eastern Cāḷukyas. It is well known that the Eastern Cāḷukyas followed the Viṣṇukuṇḍins as rulers of coastal Āndhra, with a short Durjaya interlude. This shows beyond doubt that the coins described in this catalogue are the coins of the famous Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings of the post-Sātavāhana period.

The find spots of these coins are of great significance. It is generally presumed that the influence and the territory of the Vākāṭakas extended all over modern Telingana and up to Śrīśailam in the south. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, Mādhavavarman I, is known to have led an expedition beyond the Eastern ghats and penetrated into central India. These coins found in the Nalgonda and Karimnagar districts indicate the extension of Viṣṇu-kuṇḍin territory into Telingana as a result of the victorious campaigns of Mādhavavarman I.

1. *Ind. Ant.*
2. A descriptive catalogue of select coins of this group is under preparation and will be shortly published.

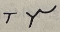
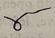
IV CATALOGUE OF SELECT VIṢṆUKUṆḌIN COINS

No. 1	Size 2	Weight 3	Find Spot 4	Obverse 5	Reverse 6
1.	.74	94.7	Taṅguṭūr	Lion facing left with double *ya* symbol and crescent above and tail lifted up and left forepaw raised.	Vase in one pellet on two slender legs with two curved lines and a pellet above and a lamp stand on either side, all in a rayed circle.
2.	.74	79.5	do	Animal as above	Vase as above in two pellets.
3.	.75	80.5	do	Animal as above	Vase as above.
4.	.75	93.2	do	Animal as above	Vase in one pellet.
5.	.75	81.4	do	Animal as above	Vase in two pellets.
6.	.82	97.7	do	Animal as above	Vase as above.
7.	.73	89.1	do	Animal as above	Vase as above.
8.	.80	115	do	Lion facing left with mouth open, left fore paw raised and double *ya* symbol and crescent above.	Vase in two pellets.
9.	.80	84.8	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
10.	.74	91.8	do	Lion sparsely decorated with left forepaw raised and double *ya* symbol and crescent above.	Vase in two pellets.
11.	.74	83.1	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
12.	.74	92.4	do	Lion facing left with left forepaw raised double *ya* symbol and crescent	Vase in one pellet.

1	2	3	4	5	6
				above and one horizontal line before mouth.	
13.	.71	83.1	Taṅguṭūr	Animal as above.	Vase in one pellet with details as above.
14.	.76	97.5	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
15.	.80	85.5	do	Animal as above with two horizontal lines before mouth.	Vase in two pellets.
16.	.73	123.5	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
17.	.73	123.5	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
18.	.76	99.3	do	Lion facing left with mouth open, double *ya* symbol and crescent above, left forepaw raised, tail lifted up and one pellet before mouth.	Vase in one pellet.
19.	.73	106.3	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
20.	.70	79	do	Animal as above with  before mouth.	Vase in two pellets.
21.	.72	91	do	Animal as above with before mouth.	Vase as above.
22.	.72	90	do	Animal as above with before mouth.	Vase as above.
23.	.75	106.5	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
24.	.80	106.5	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
25.	.80	104.2	do	Lion facing left, mouth open, left forepaw raised and double *ya* symbol only above.	Vase in one pellet.
26.	.80	98	do	Animal as above	Vase as above.
27.	.73	125.2	Telkuṅṭa	Animal facing left with mouth open, tail curled above and left forepaw raised.	Vase in one pellet.

1	2	3	4	5	6
28.	.70	137.2	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
29.	.80	136.2	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
30.	.75	136.2	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
31.	.74	134.2	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
32.	.80	73	Purchased	Bold big lion facing left with mouth open and tail curled above in a circle of dots.	Vase made of one pellet with a semi-circular indenture in the bottom on two slender legs.
33.	.74	115.2	Telkuṅṭa	Lion facing left with mouth open, tail curled above, left forepaw raised crescent above and double *ya* symbol before mouth.	Vase in one pellet.
34.	.76	124.2	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
35.	.76	130.2	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
36.	.86	115.8	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
37.	.75	134.8	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
38.	.80	138.8	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
39.	.85	137.7	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
40.	.79	139.1	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
41.	.82	142.3	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
42.	.75	123	do	Lion facing left with mouth open, tail curled above, left forepaw raised and double *ya* symbol before mouth.	Vase formed of a broad pellet with semi-circular indenture at bottom on two slender legs.
43.	.84	124.8	do	Animal as above.	Vase formed of one pell on two slender legs clos to each other.
44.	.75	122.2	do	Animal as above.	Vase with one pell looking like a conch wi bend to right on one leg.

1	2	3	4	5	6
45.	.76	113.1	do	Animal as above.	Vase formed of one big pellet on one short leg.
46.	.82	142	do	Animal as above.	Vase with one broad pellet with semi-circular indenture at bottom on two slender legs.
47.	.73	109.4	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
48.	.82	121.8	do	Animal as above.	Vase with one pellet with semi-circle marked on it on two slender legs.
49.	.82	147.7	do	Animal as above.	
50.	.92	132.3	Purchased	Big, bold animal as above.	
51.	.81	140	Telkuṇṭa	Lion facing left, with mouth open, tail curled above, left forepaw raised double *ya* symbol before mouth and before legs.	Vase in one pellet.
52.	.80	134.5	do	Animal as above with before legs.	Vase as above.
53.	.80	126.2	do	Animal as on No. 51 with before legs.	Vase as above.
54.	.80	134	do	Animal as on No. 51 with before legs.	Vase in one pellet.
55.	—	—	do	Animal as above with before legs.	Vase as above.
56.	.78	144.5	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.
57.	.75	143	do	Animal as above.	Vase as above.

1	2	3	4	5	6
58.	.82	131	do	Animal as above with before legs.	Vase as above.
59.	.92	132.2	do	Animal as above with before legs.	Vase as
60.	.76	156.2	do	Animal as above with before legs.	Vase in one pellet.
61.	—	—	do	Animal as above with before legs.	Vase as above.
62.	—	—	do	Animal as above with  before legs.	Vase as above.
63.	.85	139.5	do	Animal as above with  before legs.	Vase as above.
64.	.84	142.5	do	Animal as above with before legs.	Vase as above.
65.	.82	128	do	Animal as above with before legs.	Vase as above.
66.	.89	138	do	Animal as above with before legs.	Vase as above.
67.	.90	137.2	do	Animal facing left with mouth open, tail curled above, left forepaw raised double *ya* symbol before mouth and symbols between legs.	with lamp on either side.
68.	.93	147.5	Purchased	Bold big lion facing left with mouth open tail	Vase in one Pellet.

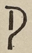
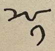
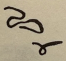
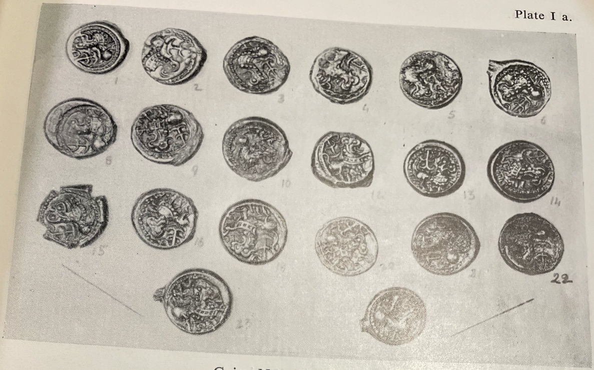
				curled above, left fore-paw raised, crescent above and between legs.	
69.	.86	137	Telkuṇṭa	Lion facing left, with crescent above, double *ya* symbol before mouth tail curled above, left fore-paw raised and between and  before legs.	Vase in one pellet.
70.	.80	143	do	Animal as above with  between and before legs.	Vase as above.
71.	.90	130	do	Animal as above with  between and before legs.	

Plate I a.



Coins Nos. 1–24 Obverse

Plate I b.

Coins No. 1–24 Reverse

Plate II a.

Coins Nos. 25–49 Obverse

Plate II b.

Coins No. 25–49 Reverse

Plate III a.

Coins Nos. 51–71 Obverse

Plate III b.

Coins No. 51–71 Reverse

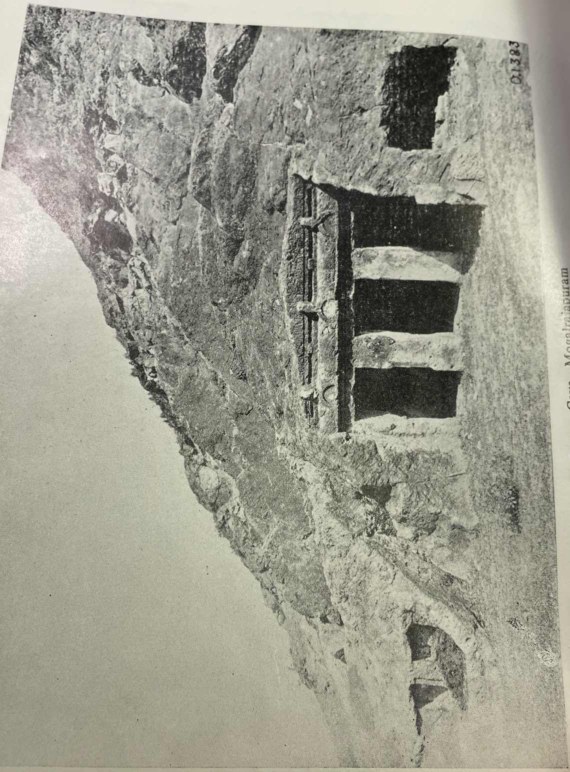
Plate IV

Two lions found in the main cave of Undavalli.

Plate V a.

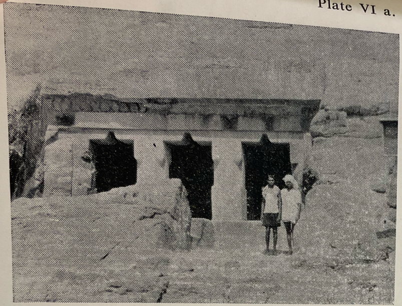
Nataraja Cave—Mogalrajapuram

Plate V b.



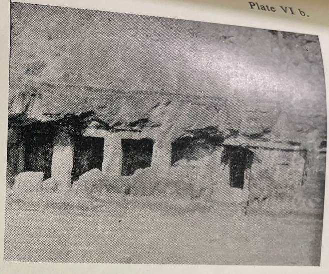
Durga Cave—Mogalrajapuram

Plate VI a.



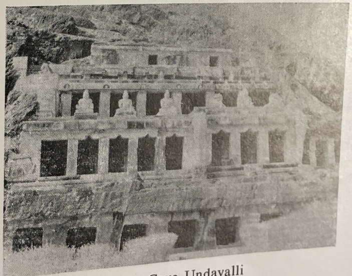
Cave No. 1 Mogalrajapuram

Plate VI b.



Cave No. 1 Vijayavada

Plate VI c.



Cave Undavalli

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